
THE LUNA PAPERS

1559-1561 : VOLUME I

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY

FLORIDA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Gc
975.9
P93l
v.1
1128307

M! L.

GENEALOGY COLLECTION

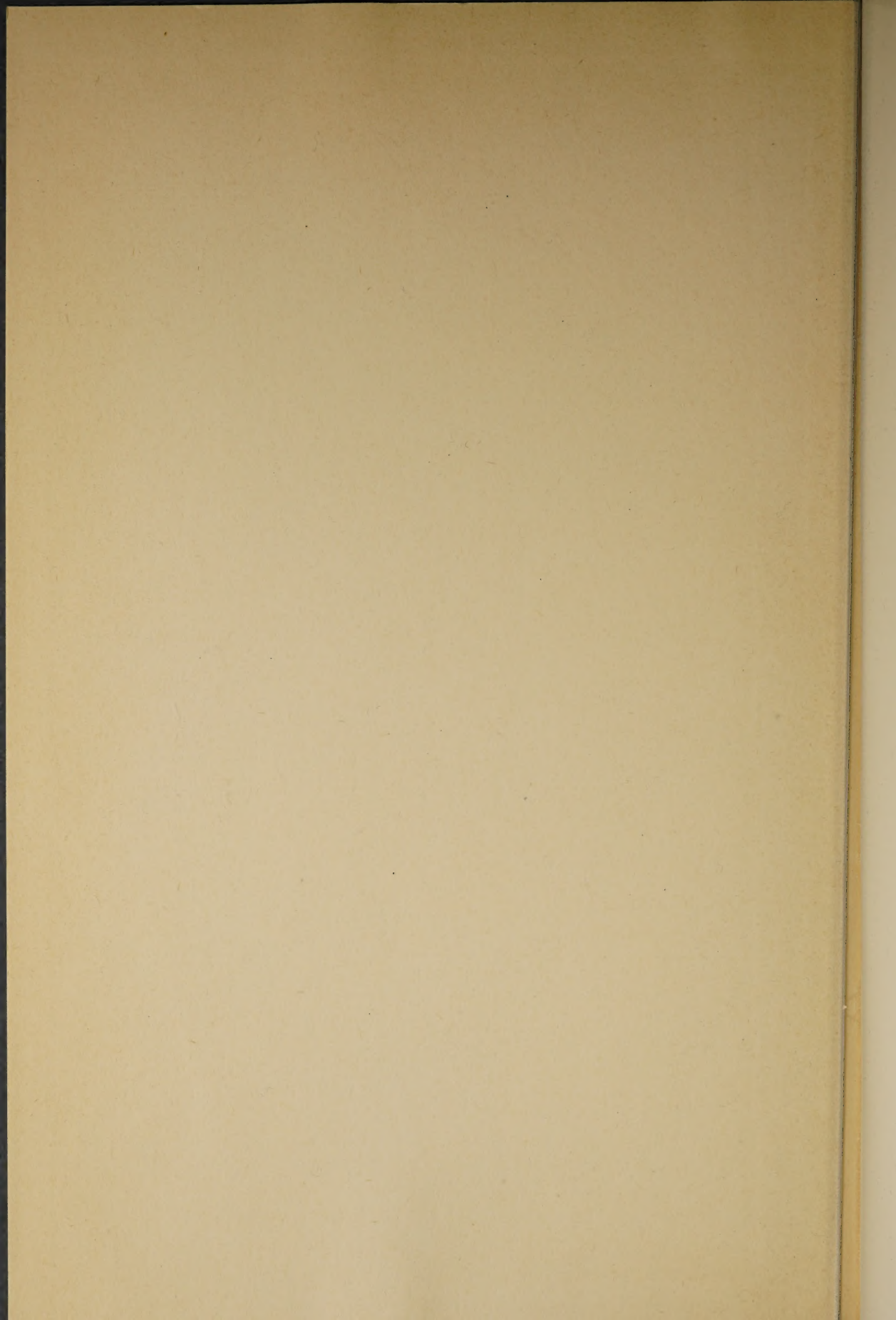
2 vols
myca
25-

✓

ALLEN COUNTY PUBLIC LIBRARY



3 1833 02299 5630





PUBLICATIONS OF THE
FLORIDA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY



NUMBER EIGHT
VOLUME I

DELAND, FLORIDA

PRINTED FOR THE SUSTAINING MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

1928





PORTRAIT OF LUIS DE VELASCO, VICEROY OF NEW
SPAIN

[Reproduced from a painting in Museo Nacional de Arqueología, Historia
y Etnografía, City of Mexico]

THE LUNA PAPERS

DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE EXPEDITION OF
DON TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO
FOR THE CONQUEST OF LA FLORIDA IN

1559-1561

VOLUME I

TRANSLATED AND EDITED WITH
AN HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

BY

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY, PH.D.

PROFESSOR OF MEXICAN HISTORY AND LIBRARIAN OF THE
BANCROFT LIBRARY AT THE UNIVERSITY OF
CALIFORNIA IN BERKELEY

DELAND

THE FLORIDA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MCMXXVIII

COPYRIGHT, 1928
BY THE FLORIDA STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

1128307

DEDICATED TO MY SISTERS
ANNIE AND ETHEL

FOREWORD

THE Committee takes unusual pleasure in presenting to the members of the Society this, its eighth publication. "The Luna Papers" form a fitting prelude to the story of Spanish and French rivalry in the Gulf of Mexico—a rivalry to be accentuated later by the dramatic expedition of La Salle, and to culminate in feverish activity in the region around Pensacola. The expedition of Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano into the waters and lands of West Florida was remarkable in many ways, but perhaps in none other so remarkable as in the clarity with which that wise administrator, the Viceroy of New Spain, Don Luis de Velasco, outlined in his letters to Don Tristán the colonial aims and policy of Spain with regard to the region then known as La Florida. These letters alone would place Spain as one of the greatest of colonizing nations of modern times and will be a further aid in removing the stigma that so long has attached undeservedly to Spain in its attitude toward its colonies. The seeming failure of the Luna expedition after all served a great purpose, for it prepared the way for the expedition of the forceful and energetic Don Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the permanent settlement of Florida.

Of the translator and editor of this work little need be said. He has long been acknowledged as an authority on Spanish colonization and administration in the new world. As professor in the University of California (a state which, like Florida, owes its beginnings to Spain), and librarian of the Bancroft Library, one of the most nearly adequate collections of materials in the world for the study of Spanish colonization and administration, he wields an influence that has been heightened

by his published works. The Committee congratulates itself and the Society on having obtained the consent of Professor Priestley to translate and edit these documents. He has given to his task the utmost care and attention, and the result (including the historical introduction) is not only an achievement in American scholarship, but a work of permanent value to students of the history of Florida.

JOHN B. STETSON, JR., *Chairman*,
JEANNETTE THURBER CONNOR,
GEORGE PARKER WINSHIP,
J. FRANKLIN JAMESON,

Committee on Publications.

PREFACE

THE documents here published for the first time form the only considerable body of contemporary materials extant relating to the attempt by Tristán de Luna y Arellano to seize and hold the land of La Florida. In its general outlines the episode has been known principally from Fray Agustín Dávila Padilla's *Historia de la fundación y discurso de la provincia de Santiago de Mexico*, first printed in 1596 as the chief record of the activities of the Dominican Order in New Spain. The account of the Luna expedition (appearing in the 1625 edition on pages 189-229) was obtained in part at least from Fray Domingo de la Anunciación, one of the expeditionaries. But his account was given to Dávila some thirty years after the event, and hence falls into the class of memoirs or reminiscences rather than that of contemporary narratives.

The hitherto known contemporary materials which concern this attempt at expansion are scant in number. A fragment of a letter by Fray Pedro de Feria, who became vicar-provincial of La Florida under Luna, dated on March 3, 1559, concerning the religious plan of the expedition, was quoted in part by John Gilmary Shea, "Ancient Florida," in Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II. 256; it is listed by James Alexander Robertson, *List of Documents in Spanish Archives Relating to the History of the United States*, No. 1126. A letter by Fray Domingo de Santa María, Dominican provincial of Mexico, advising plans for the spiritual conquest, is found in *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 134-137 (Robertson, *List*, No. 115). The report of Guido de las Bazaes concerning his preliminary reconnaissance of the northern Gulf coast as a preparation for Luna's expedition is in Buckingham Smith's collection of manuscripts on North America, and is printed in French as "Compte-rendu par Guido de las Bazaes," in Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations, et memoires originaux* . . . serie II., tom. VIII. (Paris, 1841) *Recueil de piéces sur La Floride*, pp. 143-155. It appears in English in B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana and Florida*, second series (New York, 1875), p. 236, followed by an account of the voyage of Ángel de Villafañe, 1561 (Robertson, *List*, Nos. 124, 1125; cf. No. 1128). The letter of the viceroy Luis de Velasco to Philip II.,

giving an account of the voyage of Luna's fleet from San Juan de Ulúa to the coast of La Florida, first printed in Buckingham Smith, *Colección de varios Documentos para la Historia de la Florida y Tierras adyacentes* (London, 1857), pp. 10-13, is reprinted with the present group of sources because of its direct bearing on the Luna episode. A letter from Luna to Philip II., dated September 24, 1559, concerning events in La Florida, appears in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos . . . de Indias*, XIII. 280, and in this present collection (Robertson, *List*, No. 120).

The early Spanish accounts are likewise few. Andrés González de Barcia, *Ensayo cronológico para la Historia general de la Florida* (Madrid, 1723), presents the story of Luna in his Quinta Década, años 1556-1561, in some nine folio pages. Presumably Barcia used the continuation of Antonio Herrera's *Historia general* by Pedro Fernández del Pulgar, which comprises Décadas IX., X., and XI., continuing the narrative to 1584. This continuation, used by Pulgar in his yet unpublished "Historia de la Florida," seems to have been printed only in the part referring to Chile, in the *Colección de historiadores de Chile*, tomo 29; the *Florida* is in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. Neither Barcia or Dávila had access to the documents in the present volume.

The best modern accounts are given by John Gilmary Shea in his "Ancient Florida" in Justin Winsor, *Narrative and Critical History of America*, II. 256-259, and in Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561*, chapter VIII., pp. 351-377. Lowery's is the most complete account hitherto presented. His footnotes and Shea's indicate the pertinent secondary literature on the episode.

The documents herewith printed are gleanings from numerous bundles in the Archivo General de Indias at Seville. The first part is the petition of Luna, with sustaining documents, for a royal hearing and restitution to the governorship of La Florida, from which he had been deposed. The subsidiary papers, running to Volume II, page 178, of this work, include the transcripts of Luna's lawsuit with his officers. They came from *Patronato*, *Legajo 44*, but are now classified *Simancas—Justicia—Consejo*, *Distrito de Mexico; Autos entre partes, año[s] de 1560 a 1567; 51-6-10/27*.

The second group, running to Volume II, page 216, and con-

taining the Service Record of Luna, with supporting documents and petitions, is from A. G. I., 58-6-11. Then follow letters from Luis de Velasco and other papers, from A. G. I., 87-7-6. From *Legajo* 2-1-1 was taken a letter from Luna to Philip II. From *Legajo* 87-6-2 is a royal cedula of January 20, 1567, favoring Antonio (elsewhere called Alonso) Velázquez, who assisted Villafañe in continuing Luna's effort to reach Santa Elena. From *Legajo* 58-3-8 is a letter from Velasco to the king, dated September 30, 1558. From 59-4-3 is the letter from Father Pedro Rosario Canillas and Rodrigo Rangel to the king, dated April 25, 1557. The scattering location of the documents demonstrates the difficulties of the search, which was conducted by Miss Irene Wright. Her name is sufficient guarantee that painstaking effort has been made to run down all available materials. The letter from Smith, *Colección*, mentioned above, came originally from a volume of manuscripts in Simancas, entitled *Cartas de frailes de Nueva España* . . . In order to round out the story of the Luna episode it has been thought wise to publish, with the consent of the New York Historical Society, the "Testimonio é informacion que di[eron] ciertos soldados," from the Lowery Collection, as it recites the final scene of Luna's departure from La Florida, as well as the unsuccessful expedition of Villafañe. With this document are presented also two others, the "Declaración" of Guido de las Bazaes, and the "Carta" of Fray Pedro Feria, mentioned above.

The documents have been left in the exact order in which they came from the transcriber, for reasons that appear valid. To have rearranged them according to chronology, or topic, or provenance, would have entailed a second transcription without special merit. For the convenience of the reader a chronological table has been provided; the citations to "The Luna Papers" in the Historical Introduction are an added guide to the important events of the expedition in the order of their occurrence.

Internal evidence in the documents shows that numerous writings produced by actors in this episode have not yielded to search. Probably many of them were not preserved, while others, vaguely referred to in those here printed, may actually be also in this collection. A list of references to them is here given with the pages of "The Luna Papers" whereon allusion to them is made:

	DATE	PLACE WRITTEN FROM	TITLE	PAGE
1560	Dec. 5	Polonza	Luna to Velasco	Volume I. 8
1560	Dec. 31	Polonza	Luna to Velasco	12
1557	Dec. 29	Valladolid	Philip II. to Velasco	16
1559	May	Tlaxcala	Velasco to Luna	54
1559	Aug. 23	Ochuse	Luna to Velasco	56
1559	Sept. 28	Ochuse?	Luna to Velasco	56
1559	Sept.	Ochuse	Cerón and captains and friars to Velasco	58
1559	Oct.?	Mexico	Velasco to the governor of La Havana	62
1559	Oct.?	Mexico	Velasco to Xaramillo	62
1559		Madrid	Philip II. to Velasco	68
1559	Oct.?	Ochuse?	Luna to Philip II. (two letters)	70
1559	Oct.	Mexico	Velasco to Xaramillo	70
1559	Oct.?	Mexico	Velasco to Philip II.	70
1559		Guatemala	Juan Vázquez de Coronado to Velasco	74
			The memoir by Alvaro de la Torre	74
1559		Guatemala	Carlos de Arellano to Velasco	74
1559		Flanders	Antonio de Velasco to Luis de Velasco	74
1559	Oct.?	Mexico?	Velasco? to Pedro de Feria and others	76
1559	Oct.?	Mexico	Peña to Anunciación and Feria	84
1560	Apr.?	Nanipacana	Luna to Velasco	90
1560	Apr.?	Nanipacana?	Luna to Velasco	92
1560?		Mexico	Velasco to Philip II.	98
1560?	Apr.?	Nanipacana?	"The account which came lately"	104
1560	Apr.?	Mexico	Velasco to Philip II.	104
1560	May	Mexico	Velasco to Cerón and captains	106
1560		Nanipacana?	Pedro de Acuña to Velasco	118
1560	May	Mexico	Velasco to Luna (memoir of news)	122
1560	May?	Mexico	Velasco to Philip II.	122
1560	May?	Mexico	Velasco to Pedro de Luna?	124
1560	May?	Mexico?	Fray Antonio Isidro to Pedro de Luna	124
1560	May?	Nanipacana?	Barandalla to Velasco	126
1560		Mexico?	Andrés de Urdaneta to Luna	130
1560		Madrid	Hernán Juárez to Velasco	178

PREFACE

xiii

	DATE	PLACE WRITTEN FROM	TITLE	PAGE
1560	May ?	Madrid	Hernán Juárez to Luna	
			Volume I.	178
1560		Nanipacana?	Luna to Velasco	180
1560	July 19	Ochuse	Luna to Velasco	182
1560	Apr. 8	Mexico	Velasco to Philip II. (Same as 98?)	192
1560	Aug.?	Ochuse?	Luna? to Velasco (Xaramillo, memoir)	194
1560		Nanipacana	Luna to Sauz	234
1560	Aug.	Ochuse	Cerón and others to Velasco	
			Volume II.	25
1560	Aug. 30?	Ochuse	Luna to Velasco	26
1560	Aug.?	Ochuse?	Cerón to Velasco, Report <i>re</i> Luna	38
1560	Aug.?	Ochuse?	Xaramillo to Velasco (same as 94?)	48
1560	Aug.?	Ochuse?	Fray Pedro de Feria, Report	122
1560	Aug.?	Ochuse?	Xaramillo to Velasco (same as 94?)	122
1560	Aug. 10?	Polonza	Luna to Velasco	136
1560	Aug. 10?	Polonza	Luna to Philip II.	142
1560	Aug.	Polonza	Luna to Philip II. (sent to Havana)	142
1560	Sept.		Pedro de Feria to Velasco	146
1560	Sept.?	Ochuse?	Cerón to Velasco	152
1560	Sept.?	Ochuse?	Antonio Pérez to Velasco	152
1560	Sept.?	Mexico	Velasco to the governor of La Havana	154
1560	Sept.?	Mexico	Velasco to Luis Daza	156
1560	Sept.	Vera Cruz?	Martín Doz to Velasco	158
1560	Sept.	Vera Cruz?	Ángel de Villafañe to Velasco	158
1560	Sept.	Mexico	Velasco to Alonso Velázquez	162
1560	Sept.	Mexico	Velasco to Zayas	162
1560	May 28	Coosa	Anunciación and Salazar to Velasco	164
1560	Sept. 3	Ochuse	Luna to Velasco	168
1560	Sept. 9	Ochuse	Luna to Velasco (same as 136?)	174
1559	May?	Tlaxcala	Luna to Philip II.	210
1559	Apr.?	Jalapa?	Luna to Velasco	213
1559			Muster-rolls of the Expedi- tionaries	222
1559			Plan for Towns	224

Happily, these lacunæ are probably not serious. Velasco had a delightful habit of iterating his own letters as well as those he was answering, so that the essentials of many missing documents are contained in this collection. "The Luna Papers" serve, indeed, to make certain some hitherto undecided points. We know much more about the plan and purpose of the expedition and the procedure of effecting them, and the multiple causes of failure. The identity of Luna with the Tristán de Arellano of Coronado's journey, surmised by Lowery, is established. Jorge Cerón Saavedra, Luna's lieutenant, had been with Cortés in the Gulf of California. Juan Xaramillo had probably been with Coronado in New Mexico; he was not, in all probability, descended from Doña Marina and Cortés, as has been surmised.

These minutiae, though of interest, are of minor import compared with the value of the collection as a renewed demonstration of the continuity of the drive made by Spain for ever widening possession of the North American continent. It was no haphazard set of uncoördinated wanderings animated by lust of gold, but a conscious aim at building a great northern colonial empire. The tragic Luna episode was a determined effort to anticipate the French in occupying a part of this coveted domain. That the imperial drive for the northern areas was a hugely successful undertaking in the main is attested by the immense territory brought under the Spanish crown with all too meager resources for the task assumed. Now that the mighty European competition for the fair lands of America is dim in retrospect, it is obvious that the failure politically of the epic conquest after the sixteenth century was incidental rather than fundamental; that it was not the fault of the heroic and tragic participants in its glories, who now move but dimly through the haze of curious documents and unfinished narratives, but rather the result of that march of events and opinion which has carried the real Europeanization of America beyond the aims and defects of the old colonial imperialism. The purposeful character of this northward occupation is amply set forth in the prolix but withal statesman-like letters of the viceroy. Luis de Velasco deserves enduring fame as one of the earliest empire-builders in American history.

Only a word need be said regarding the translation. Spanish

words not precisely translatable are given in the original, in italics at the first appearance and thereafter in roman type. Suitable notes in explanation are appended. Effort has been made in the change from sixteenth century Spanish idiom to twentieth century English to lean to the side of intelligibility rather than literalness. Those who have wrestled with the interminable and involved locutions of the early documents will appreciate what the task has been. Citations of Spanish sources used in the Historical Introduction have been referred to versions by modern authorities of repute rather than to the earlier editions, for the reader's convenience.

In editing the documents, names of persons have, for greater convenience, been written out in full and in the modern manner, rather than in the archaic forms. In the same way, names of places mentioned in the original have been given the spelling of to-day. Thus, the names Ypacana and Coça have always been rendered Nanipacana and Coosa, these being the forms in general use by modern writers.

In several instances, letters missing in the original have been inserted within square brackets, and various other editorial usages, which will be readily recognized, have been employed. An effort has been made to reproduce in typographical form the peculiarities of the original manuscript; and in this the printer has earnestly and successfully coöperated. The foliation of the original Spanish has been indicated by inserting the folio number, followed by the letter "a" or "b" within square brackets—this being the method often employed in Spanish archives. In the translation, the letters "r" (for "recto") and "v" (for "verso") have been employed instead of "a" and "b." Several documents show page numbers instead of folio numbers. For the convenience of the reader, all signatures have been printed in capitals and small capitals.

H. I. P.



CONTENTS

FOREWORD	vii
PREFACE	ix
HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION	xix
TITLES TO DOCUMENTS OF VOLUME I	lxx
DOCUMENTS	1
NOTES	255

ILLUSTRATIONS

LUIS DE VELASCO, VICEROY OF NEW SPAIN	<i>Frontispiece</i>
MAP OF THE GULF AND COAST OF NEW SPAIN, FROM PÁNUCO RIVER TO THE CAPE OF SANTA ELENA	xix

*Facsimile reproductions of manuscript pages of
"The Luna Papers"*

THE FIRST PAGE	2
FOLIO 73, VERSO	140
FOLIO 82, VERSO	164
FOLIO 94, VERSO	194



**MAP OF THE GULF AND COAST OF NEW SPAIN, FROM
PÁNUCO RIVER TO THE CAPE OF SANTA ELENA.**

[Facsimile from the original in Archivo General de Indias, 145-7-8. Undated, but conjectured to have been laid down to show the explorations and discoveries of Soto and Moscoso. It is possible that Luna y Arellano had a copy of it. On the back of the original is written "From the papers which they brought from Seville from Alonso de Santa Cruz."]

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

THE story of the expedition of Tristán de Luna y Arellano to La Florida is a chapter in the history of the attempts by Spain to affirm its tenure of North America in the area outside of that held by sedentary tribes of Indians, whose stage of culture was best adapted to the colonial institution developed during the early years of the Conquest. It was the initial step in the policy developed by Philip II. of carrying expansion into the heart of the continent as a means of repelling the aggressions of his European rivals, of whom the most notable at the time were the French. By and large, the determining factor in the success or failure of Spain's colonization was the stage of culture previously attained by the natives who were subjugated. Success in sedentary areas, with seriously limited achievement in the nomadic ones, was the general rule. It is true that physical impediments, such as inhospitable shores, angry seas, poor sailing facilities and communications, and lack of indigenous foods or food preservation, were concomitants of the struggle. Besides these handicaps and those incident to European rivalry, there was much administrative incapacity and ignorance, along with personal rivalries and rancors, which bear a share of blame for partial success wherever conquest of nomads, who would not be exploited, was tried.

The Florida coastline, that is, the Atlantic shore from the later-styled New England region southward, and the Gulf coast throughout its entirety, were known to the Spaniards before the conquest of the sedentary area was fairly begun. The early voyagers, possibly among them Vespucci, produced maps of the coastline dotted with names which indicate explorations anterior to those of the known records. The earliest credit for the discovery is still given to Juan Ponce de León, whose voyage to the upper mainland was entirely an accidental one, it having been brought about by the occurrence of a storm, which drove Ponce from his alleged quest of the fabulous island of Bimini to the firm land. His voyages and attempts at discovery and colonization extended through the years 1512-1521, with the well-known tragic result of the loss of nearly two hundred Spanish lives.

The voyage of Diego de Miruelo in the year 1516 or 1519 for the purpose of barter with the Indians led to the discovery of the Gulf coast northward from the base of the peninsula and westward toward the Mississippi without extending to that stream.

Miruelo returned to Santo Domingo without charting his discoveries, and later, as pilot for Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, was so chagrined at his inability to relocate his early happy findings that he became insane and died.¹

In 1519 Alonso Álvarez de Pineda, as advance agent of Francisco de Garay, coasted the entire Gulf from La Florida to the Pánuco region. Garay's grant to the province of Amichel, lying between Pánuco and the Florida peninsula, was to result in his undoing, for he was defeated by Cortés in 1523 at Pánuco, and died of pneumonia in Mexico.

About the same time, Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón, judge of the *audiencia* of Santo Domingo, formed in 1524 a company of seven wealthy men of his city, to send out two ships to hunt for Indians for slaves. On their voyage in 1526, his mariners were storm-driven to Cape Santa Elena, so named then for the day of its discovery. Ayllón was intrusted with the government of the area, which he named Chicora, and set out to colonize on the present Carolina coast, where his force was massacred by natives. This enterprise had been preceded by the voyages of Pedro de Quexos and Francisco Gordillo in 1521-1522, made under the mixed motives of slave-hunting, discovery, and barter. In 1525 the voyage of Estevan Gómez completed the Spanish discovery of the Atlantic shores of La Florida.

The advance into the interior began with the ill-fated and oft retold exploration of Pánfilo de Narváez (1528) with its sequel in the novelesque wanderings of Álvar Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions (1528-1536). The excitement aroused by this cross-continental journey led to the exploration by Marcos the friar of Nice, and this in turn to the attempt to conquer the famed Seven Cities of Cibola by Francisco de Coronado, whose second in command was none other than the person whose experiences in La Florida form the subject of the present volume, Tristán de Luna y Arellano. Competitor of Cabeza de Vaca for the royal grant of the governorship of La Florida was the great Hernán de Soto, whose journeys into the interior of the country now forming the southeastern part of the United States make one of the heroic episodes of the early history of North America. Thus were the early incidents of the discovery of the northern reaches knit together in the personalities of the adventurers who led them.

¹ Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca*, Lib. I., caps. ii., iii.; Barcia, *Ensayo cronológico*, años 1524 y 1527.

Soto's ultimate exploit was the direct forerunner of the expedition under Luna. Though seventeen years elapsed between the death of Soto and the arrival of Luna upon the coast of La Florida, and though no authorized attempts to annex the area had been made during the interval, nevertheless the great *adelantado's* experiences were vivid in the minds of the viceroy Luis de Velasco and his intimate friend Luna. The description of La Florida which had been given to the first viceroy, Antonio de Mendoza, by Luis de Moscoso, who had led home the remnant of Soto's army, and which had been sent to Charles V, was placed by Velasco in Luna's possession while the latter was in La Florida.² At least three (some accounts say six) of Luna's expeditionaries had been members of Soto's ill-fated army, and they had brought to Mexico a few Indians, among them some women, from the "province of Coosa," in the area of modern Alabama.

The Spaniards had not, it is true, gained a very favorable opinion of La Florida from Soto's experiences. Indeed, the chronicler of the Coronado expedition, Castañeda, had characterized it as a land "full of bogs and poisonous fruits, barren, and the very worst country that is warmed by the sun."³ The experience of Soto's followers had reinforced this opinion, for the viceroy Mendoza tried in vain to induce Moscoso and his companions to renew their efforts to conquer it.⁴ Enough had been made known of the northern shore line to compel interest. In 1544 Julián de Samano and Pedro de Ahumada sought license to visit La Florida for pearls, peltries, and precious metals, but were denied. Even so, the enticing coastline would not suffer itself to be forgotten, for shipwrecks in 1545, 1553, and 1554 cost much treasure and many lives.⁵

These disasters worked together with the proselyting motive to urge the Spaniards northward. The religious motive had been especially fostered by a Franciscan friar, Father Andrés de Olmos. According to Barcia this religious had tried in 1544 to approach La Florida for missionary work.⁶ It is certain that before 1544 he

² "The Luna Papers," I. 74, II. 148. This is no doubt the Moscoso item.

³ *Narrative* (George Parker Winship, ed., Bureau of American Ethnology, Fourteenth Annual Report, Part I.), p. 468, cited by Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561*, p. 252.

⁴ Barcia, *Ensayo cronológico*, año de 1543; Garcilaso de la Vega, *La Florida del Inca*, Lib. VI., cap. xx., p. 263.

⁵ Barcia, *op. cit.*, años de 1544, 1545, and 1553.

⁶ *Ibid.*, año de 1544.

had been to Tamaulipas and had baptized Indians there.⁷ In 1556 he was in Mexico City, and wrote to Charles V on November 25 requesting assistance in missionary work and urging Spanish settlements on three rivers, the Río de Palmas, the Río Bravo, and the Río de Ochuse. Olmos, besides being a priest, was an imperial expansionist of the first water. He asked the emperor to grant him four favors. In addition to the three settlements on the rivers mentioned, he desired more friars for the labors in Tampico and Tamaulipas; he also asked that no tributes be levied on the Indians, and that the government of the *corregimiento* of Pánuco should be given to those who lived in Tampico as a reward for service and to promote local interest.⁸ The identity of the areas in which Olmos expressed his interest may be partially fixed by assuming that the Río de Palmas was what is now known as Soto la Marina, the Río Bravo undoubtedly our present Río Grande, and the Río de Ochuse must have been at or near Mobile Bay.⁹

The solicitude of Father Olmos for the welfare of the Spanish residents of Pánuco was not without its glint of political astuteness, for in April, 1557, the *alcalde mayor* of Pánuco, Rodrigo Rangel, and the vicar, Father Pedro Rosario Canillas, wrote enthusiastically to Philip II. of the work of Father Olmos on "the frontier of this province of Pánuco" and his saintly desire to colonize the three rivers Palmas, Bravo, and Ochuse. The latter at least, said they, should have been occupied long ago as a refuge for ships and as the best spot from which to enter La Florida. The latter idea was especially emphasized, as Rangel had been with Soto in that country, and had probably actually seen Ochuse.¹⁰

The zeal of Fray Andrés was perhaps not the only ecclesiastical factor in directing the monarch's attention toward La Florida. Indeed, as Lowery has pointed out, two other religious advisers, the bishops of Mexico and Cuba, urged the identical activity,¹¹ supporting Velasco's initiative.

⁷ *Cartas de Indias*, p. 128.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁹ "Río de Ochuse, que esta ya en la Florida,"—"where we all want the gospel to go," (*Cartas de Indias*, p. 126). See "The Luna Papers," II. 265, note 26.

¹⁰ "The Luna Papers," II. 264-266. His name is spelled "Rengel" in these documents, but there can be little doubt of his identity. He had been Soto's secretary. See E. G. Bourne, *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, I., Introd., and Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, Lib. XVII., cap. xxvi., p. 560.

¹¹ Lowery, *op. cit.*, pp. 353-355.

As has been intimated, there was a lapse of several years, in fact from 1542 to 1558, in which there were no attempts at temporal conquest of the La Florida area by the Spanish government. Yet there was a gradual advance of the spiritual conquest. In 1549 Fray Luis Cancer de Barbastro, a zealot Dominican who had collaborated with Bartolomé de las Casas in Guatemala, undertook to carry the non-military idea of a purely clerical conquest into La Florida, in that misfortunate effort losing his life almost immediately at Tampa Bay, where Spanish conquering lust was already well known.¹² It is quite probable that the letters of Olmos, Rangel, and Canillas reached the king's hands in time to have influence upon his acts. For it was in December, 1557, on the twenty-ninth of that month, that Philip ordered Luis de Velasco, notwithstanding prior prohibitions, to appoint a governor for La Florida and the Punta de Santa Elena.¹³

It is not possible, however, to attribute the Luna expedition solely to the religious motive, for the fear of Philip that the French, and possibly the Scotch, were about to invade the Atlantic coast within his domain was expressed in the initiatory documents. They were expected to make an incursion from the region of Los Bacallaos (now Newfoundland), then thought to be not far distant, and their repulse or the prevention of their landing was a prime consideration in the Spanish project.¹⁴ That the enterprise had been the subject of previous study and thought is evinced by the fact that before December of 1557 an entire set of instructions had been drawn up for the local and general government of the proposed conquest. The date of the instructions is only less interesting than the character of the government and defense contemplated, and a study of them will convince the reader of the foresight and minute care with which the problems of colonization and military tenure were approached by the Spanish government.¹⁵

Now that the new expansion was to be a state affair and not purely religious, the choice of the leader of the enterprise was confided to the viceroy with the injunction that the appointee must be a God-fearing man and zealous in the royal service. The selection of Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano secured for the haz-

¹² Cf. Lowery, *op. cit.*, p. 425.

¹³ Cedula, in "The Luna Papers," I. 46.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 122, 184, 192, 194.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 18-32.

ardous task a cavalier, hidalgo, able public servant, and early conqueror. He had evidently been favored for some time with the personal friendship of the great viceroy, and it is interesting to note that the Luna and Velasco families, intermarrying and combining with each other and with the descendants of Antonio de Mendoza, became part of the great De Ircio family, from which sprang a notable line of public officials.¹⁶

The choice of Luna was apparently a wise one, judging by his experience, age, position, and previous services. He was of the old Castilian family of Borobia, with estates in the villas of Cicia and Borobia, the annual revenues of which amounted to about three million *maravedís*.¹⁷ To the enjoyment of this revenue he might hope presently to succeed, for his brother Don Pedro, head of the house, was in 1558 about seventy years old, and Don Tristán was sole heir. The prospective fortune made him a suitable person to intrust with the financial obligations to be incurred in undertaking an important conquest, for his private purse would have to be drawn on heavily for it. Don Tristán had come to New Spain some twenty-nine years previous to the time of his appoint-

¹⁶ Says Baltazar Dorantes de Carranza, *Sumaria relación de las cosas de la Nueva España*, p. 215: "The house of Martin Dircio, conqueror. He came with Cortés. He was a conqueror and settler of Mexico, a person of great qualities, very much a gentleman, and brother of Captain Pedro Dircio.

"The succession of this house is most illustrious, as will be seen. Most of those who belong to it are serving your Majesty in major affairs, and I put them in this catalogue to honor this scripture and ascribe to this country what it merits for such a line of descent:

Luis de Velasco, once viceroy of New Spain and Peru	son-in-law.
Marshal Don Carlos de Luna y Arellano	son-in-law.
Don Francisco de Velasco, of the Order of Santiago	grandson.
Don Antonio de Velasco, of the Order of Santiago	grandson.
Don Juan Altamirano, of the Order of Santiago, on the mother's side	grandson.
Don Tristán de Arellano	grandson.
Don Rodrigo de Vivero, on the mother's side, legitimate,	grandson."

The Luna family of Aragon, from which the Castilian branch is derived, had, long before the days of our Don Tristán, been conspicuous in the royal service. After the La Florida episode the descendants were of the foremost families, as has been said. A grandson of Tristán, and bearing the same name, was three years governor of Tlaxcala (Charles W. Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico*, I., Washington, 1923, p. 49). Juan de Mendoza y Luna, marqués de Montesclaros, was viceroy of New Spain, 1603-1607, and deeply interested in the expansion of the realm. Many interesting data of genealogical character may be obtained concerning these families from R. Ortega y Pérez Gallardo, *Estudios genealógicos*, and from Francisco A. Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*.

¹⁷ "The Luna Papers," II. 202. Barcia has Siria, instead of Cicia (*Ensayo cronológico*, año 1559).

ment as governor of La Florida, that is, probably during the year 1530 or 1531.¹⁸ What his activities were prior to the coming of the viceroy Antonio de Mendoza in 1535 we do not know. Of his social category we may rest assured, for he married Doña Isabel de Rojas, the rich widow of a first conqueror, Juan Velázquez, and by her second matrimonial venture widow also of another prominent conqueror, Francisco Maldonado. At the time of the expedition to La Florida this much married lady had died, leaving Luna revenues from *encomiendas* in charge for their legitimate children, Carlos de Arellano and Juana de Ávalos. He had also property in Granada, Spain. At the time of the opening of this episode the son Carlos was eight years old.¹⁹ The daughter's age is not mentioned.

Luna's first conspicuous public service came when he served, as has been already indicated, as a captain of horse in the Coronado expedition to Cíbola. After the death of Lope de Samaniega, *maestre de campo* under Coronado, Luna was advanced to that post, and at some time during the expedition was made lieutenant of the general, perhaps succeeding Fernandarias de Saavedra as such.²⁰ On this expedition Luna, after Coronado's main army had been left at Culiacán, moved it to Sonora on the Sonora River, where he "established a settlement in a convenient locality." Under orders to join Coronado at Cíbola he moved northward from Sonora, and to him belongs the credit for the safe passage of the northern wilderness with that unwieldy aggregation of soldiers and live stock through snowstorms and desert wastes. He joined Coronado's detachment at Hawaikuh, and, after twenty days' rest, set out to lead the main force to Tiguex. On the way he had to march through heavy snowstorms, visiting the cliff town of Acoma on the way, and no doubt as leader was one of those who scaled its heights. In December, 1540, he arrived at Tiguex.²¹

On the fatuous Quivira expedition Luna accompanied his chief for thirty-seven days, going six hundred and fifty miles from

¹⁸ "The Luna Papers," II. 202.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 124, II. 204. Francisco Maldonado, native of Salamanca and one of the members of the first audiencia of Mexico, died in 1528 before reaching the capital to assume his duties (*Colección de documentos . . . de Indias*, XIII. 119).

²⁰ "The Luna Papers," II. 204; Lowery suspected, but could not assert confidently, that the Arellano of Coronado's journey and the Luna of the attempt to conquer La Florida were one and the same. These documents present the proof of the identity. See Lowery, *op. cit.*, pp. 296, 297, citing Castañeda, *Narrative*, pp. 423, 572.

²¹ Lowery, *op. cit.*, pp. 304, 316, 317, 320.

Tiguex into the land of the Texas Indians in June, 1541; but when hope for the success of this expedition dwindled, he led back to Tiguex all but those thirty-six men with whom Coronado pushed on into the Wichita country to his final disillusionment; he regained Tiguex in twenty-five days, twelve less than had been required for the outward journey. Once at Tiguex again, his tasks were to provide in a hostile land food for the coming winter, and to send out the expeditions under Francisco de Barrio Nuevo to the Jémez villages and Taos, and another officer down the Río Grande into the Sorroco region. While these activities were occurring, Coronado was delayed in his return, so Luna went in quest of him, met him, and accompanied him back to Tiguex.²² In all these movements he conducted himself with bravery, and fought in actions from which he received wounds so that "he was at the point of death."²³

The next public service rendered by Luna was performed in 1548, when he quelled an Indian uprising in the districts of Coatlán and Tetiepa in the province of Oaxaca. This southern area had been frequently the scene of serious native disorders incident to the prolonged and irritating attempt of the government to count the Indians on the encomiendas of Cortés. Cruelties inflicted by the conquering settlers aroused retaliation with accumulated vengeance by the natives in grewsome cannibalistic atrocities. It had been necessary for the central authorities in 1531 and later to repress these uprisings. In the year 1548 the Tequipans, feeling secure in their mountain fastnesses, attempted to reopen the ancient hostilities. Remesal avers that the friars of the Oaxaca convent quelled the trouble without military aid, but it is evident that this was the uprising which Mendoza sent Luna to quell. The Indian army had approached within four leagues of the city of Oaxaca, and the countryside was filled with terror at the prospect of horrors to come, when Luna at his own expense moved forces against them and reduced them to a peace from which they did not waver up to 1559.²⁴

Not alone by public services, but by upright living, had this pious first conqueror won distinction in a turbulent pioneer society. He had lived his twenty-nine or thirty years in New Spain

²² Lowery, *op. cit.*, pp. 331-333.

²³ "The Luna Papers," II. 204.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 204; Remesal, *Historia de . . . Chyapa*, pp. 454-455. Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, II. 538, note 8.

as a good Christian, setting an example by his virtuous life and his services to the king, and in so doing he had earned good repute and esteem, not only among the rank and file of the conquerors, but among governors, judges, and viceroys. While so doing he had managed to amass a small fortune, the nucleus of which was the dowry of his wife in the shape of encomiendas of Indians inherited from Juan Velázquez and Francisco Maldonado. It is true that these estates were a trust for his children, and proved insufficient for the need, but Don Tristán was nothing loath to mortgage or sell them to raise funds to meet the exorbitant costs which conditions in the New World imposed upon initiative, being firm no doubt in the hope of success, and confident in the somewhat thrifty generosity of his monarch.²⁵

The Luna project was to be undertaken only after perfect preparedness, and with all the care inspired by the dreaded character of the coasts of La Florida as learned from numerous shipwrecks, and with a sobriety into which no religious fanaticism like that of Fray Luis Cancer could enter. Father Domingo de Santa María, the Dominican provincial of Mexico, wrote to the king urging a matured plan, and avoidance of zealots like Cancer and Juan de Ferrer, for such men would go only to be killed.²⁶

Preliminary to the sailing of the expedition, and while it was being prepared, a new exploration of the Gulf coast was ordered by Velasco, who sent out Guido de las Bazaes for the purpose. Bazaes left San Juan de Ulúa on September 3, 1558, with a bark and a foist to make the preliminary reconnaissance of the coast from Vera Cruz to the longitude of La Havana. The purpose was to locate a port within the Gulf where Luna might disembark and establish a base from which to proceed overland to the settlement and occupation of the province of Coosa and then of Santa Elena on the Atlantic. The experiences of Soto and the testimony of mariners acquainted with the coast indicated that this would be the surest way to reach Santa Elena, for it was thought that the distance by land from the coast opposite La Havana was but eighty leagues, but would be much greater by sea because of the necessity of rounding the peninsula and risking the shoals of the coastline while seeking a port. At that time no greater certainty of the location of Santa Elena was had than that Soto had been only three days from the ocean when he was on the Río de las

²⁵ "The Luna Papers," II. 206, 208, 210.

²⁶ *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 134-137.

Perlas, which the Indians supposedly had told him entered the sea at the Punta.²⁷ It need hardly be pointed out that this uncertainty as to the exact location and character of the objective point of the Luna expedition, combined with ignorance of the distance overland from the coast of the Gulf, was one of the early causes for the failure of the attempt. The costly error was remedied by Menéndez de Avilés when he later undertook the occupation of Santa Elena with his main base in Spain rather than Vera Cruz with a connecting port in the Gulf.

During September, 1558, preparations for the expedition were active. The ships were being made ready, and the people were being gathered. The departure was planned for the ensuing May. Four hundred soldiers, half of them horsemen and half foot, were to be organized, and one hundred artisans were to go to build towns and forts. Both clericals and religious were to be used for the spiritual conquest. A conference of the three chief religious orders was called by Velasco to decide which should undertake the duty; the Franciscans and Augustinians deferred to the Dominicans, who designated six of the best men of their order for the task.

For the time being a companion part of Velasco's project for expansion was deferred in favor of the Santa Elena expedition. This was the advance from Los Zacatecas into Copala. However, three religious were sent into the latter region to the new mines

27 "The Luna Papers," II. 258. Velasco did not even know whether there was a port at all at the Punta. Soto's nearest approach to Santa Elena was in April, 1540, when he was at Cutifachiqui. This town, as set down on the De l'Isle map of Louisiana compiled in the late eighteenth century and reproduced in B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Part II. (1850), frontispiece, appears on the Santee River. There, two days from the ocean, Soto was shown "a dagger and beads that belonged to Christians"—of the Ayllón expedition, no doubt, which had been at Santa Elena in 1525 and had been destroyed with its leader by the Indians. If the Rio de las Perlas was the Santee, a journey down it would have brought Soto to the ocean a few miles below modern Georgetown. But if, as is more likely, it was the Savannah River, and Cutifachiqui was in the vicinity of the modern Atlanta, Georgia (as shown in W. R. Shepherd, *Historical Atlas*, p. 193), the journey would have brought him out a little below the modern St. Helena Island, or old Santa Elena. Cf. "A Narrative of the Expedition of Hernando de Soto," by Luis Hernández de Biedma, in B. F. French, *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, Part II., pp. 144-145. "The Narrative of . . . the Gentleman of Elvas," T. H. Lewis, ed., in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States* . . . , pp. 133-272; especially p. 172, note 1, is pertinent, as is the "Diary of Rodrigo Ranjel," in E. G. Bourne, ed. *Narratives of the Career of Hernando de Soto*, II. 43-150, especially pp. 99-101.

of San Martín, thirty leagues beyond Los Zacatecas and as many more short of Copala. Before this there had been an unnamed clerical who was civilizing and baptizing in this area, and it was hoped that many Spaniards would at the appropriate time prove willing to enter Copala for the reward of land grants and gold and silver mines.²⁸ Thus would the conquest of La Florida be linked to the sedentary area by the occupation of the intervening space. The fact that Copala and San Martín were far to the west of the actual line of advance toward La Florida was at that time not understood.

The official nomination of Luna as governor was made by the viceroy on October 30, 1558, though it must have been earlier than this, but not earlier than January of the same year, that the offer had been made and orally accepted.²⁹ Very soon afterward, on November 1, All Saints' Day, the cathedral church of Mexico City presented the animated picture of a great concourse of people to see Luna take the oath of homage as governor and captain-general of La Florida and the Punta de Santa Elena. In the presence of the audiencia, the archbishop, and other dignitaries, the *caballero* knelt with his hands folded within those of the viceroy and swore "once, twice, and thrice, according to the custom of Spain," to hold the land of La Florida, its borders, towns, and strong places, in peace and war as a loyal vassal, and—unhappy presage—turn it all over to whatever legally appointed successor might be sent out when the royal will should change, under dire penalties. This must have been rather a chilling prospect, however necessary, to one who had mortgaged his own and his children's estates to equip himself for the yearned-for adventure.³⁰

During the remainder of 1558 and the first three months of 1559 the progress of preparations was slow if we measure them by the normal rate of similar movements of the present day. The principal activity of which we have record was the recruiting of soldiers for the expedition. It had been decided by March, 1559, and probably earlier, that the military contingent should consist of five hundred Spanish soldiers, equally divided between foot and horse. Most of the cavalry was enlisted outside of Mexico City. Captain Don Cristóbal Ramírez y Arellano, nephew of the gover-

²⁸ "The Luna Papers," II. 260.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 16.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 38, 40.

nor, enlisted most of his cavalry in Oaxaca; there he was engaged in so doing early in March. Another troop was enlisted by Juan Xaramillo about the same time in Los Zacatecas. Another troop was recruited by Captain Pedro de Acuña, for the most part at Puebla. Luna's own company on March 8 numbered only some twenty men, chosen mostly in Mexico City. The infantry companies were four in number, of fifty soldiers each. Captain Álvaro Nieto recruited his men from Puebla, Ladrón de Guevara and Juan de Porras theirs from Mexico City. Captain Antonio Ortiz de Matienzo had about thirty men collected for the governor's guard. Up to March 8 there were only about one hundred soldiers of the expedition all told in the capital. Alonso de Castilla, captain of cavalry, was at that time ill, and had as yet collected no men.³¹

During this period of preparation the form of organization for the new government of La Florida was determined upon in a set of instructions formulated by the viceroy and audiencia upon a model provided by the king; the document is a predecessor of the Ordenanzas de Pobladores put into general use in Spanish America after 1563. The instructions were for the purpose of providing municipal administrative and judicial officers, governing the mode of their election and prescribing their duties. Unfortunately, they did not contain any specific rules for the functioning of the general officers of the new province nor any outline of the specific purpose of the expedition. These features of the enterprise are to be gleaned from statements scattered throughout the documents, from which, happily, adequate understanding of the plans and aims of Philip II. may be gained. It is to be regretted that the relations of the governor with his *maestre de campo* and the royal officials were not clearly defined in some administrative enunciation. If a well-framed statement of powers had been issued, the fatal bickering which defeated the purpose of the expedition might have been avoided.³²

During the month of April, 1559, the final preparations for the voyage were completed. On the thirteenth, just before leaving

³¹ "The Luna Papers," II. 238; the same account, with minor variations, appears in Velasco's report to the king, with Luna's voucher added, in *Cartas de Indias*, pp. 270-274. These details of the preparations exist because of a riot in Mexico City occasioned by the arrest of a soldier by the municipal peace officers.

³² "The Luna Papers," I. 18-32. See the general instructions to Luna in his Commission, dated March 30, 1559, *ibid.*, I. 46-52.

the capital, Luna sought and obtained from the audiencia a certificate of his public services, from which it is evident that he had been for a long time previously a well-accepted, if not a distinguished, servant of his king in the conquest and colonization of New Spain. These interesting personal activities have been already alluded to.⁸³ The purpose of the inquiry concerning his services was to enable Luna to petition the king for a salary of 12,000 ducats instead of the 8,000 which Velasco had assigned him, and to ask reimbursement for large personal investments in equipment.⁸⁴

When the enlistment of the forces and their provisioning had been completed, the expedition began to move from the plateau toward the seaport of San Juan de Ulúa to embark. The viceroy himself accompanied the small army, he leaving Mexico City on April 24, just after the soldiers had gone. A stop was made at Tlaxcala, some twenty leagues from the capital. The soldiers marched without arms, the viceroy choosing this means of averting trouble, until they were embarked. Evidently the forces were without proper discipline, not an unusual condition for the times. Some of the men still nursed a sense of injury arising from the incidents which had culminated in the near-riot of March 8.

During the march coastward the men were rationed by using the tributes of the Indian towns along the way so as to prevent pillage of native food stores. The expeditionaries had scant funds upon which to maintain themselves, as they had expended their private resources to the amount of three hundred thousand pesos for armor, horses, and other equipment. Large sums had also been drawn from the treasury of the viceroyalty for their outfits. In these modern days of highly organized public expenditures for similar equipment it seems odd that such haphazard means had to be employed for gathering and dispatching a handful of five hundred soldiers and their one thousand camp-followers. And yet, compared with many of the expeditions organized for conquest in those times, this was a fairly formidable organization, and its preparation taxed the resources of the yet young viceroyalty heavily.⁸⁵

The purpose of the expedition was not only that of occupying

⁸³ See above, pp. xxiii-xxvii.

⁸⁴ "The Luna Papers," II. 214, 216. For an earlier statement of the services of Luna, see F. A. de Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, II., No. 516.

⁸⁵ "The Luna Papers," II. 222.

a Gulf port as a base from which to proceed overland and fortify Santa Elena, but also that of subjugating and christianizing the natives in the territory lying to the eastward of a north and south line fifty leagues west of the Río de Espíritu Santo, by which the Mississippi is clearly meant.⁸⁶ The base on the Gulf coast was to be planted well to the eastward of that river, and it was expected that the way thence to Santa Elena would be opened through the far-famed province of Coosa, known as the richest Soto had seen.

Naturally, great thought had been expended on the formation of Spanish towns, particularly the first one, which was to be located at a strategic point to hold the Gulf and protect communications. This first town was to contain one hundred and forty house-lots. Forty were to be used for a monastery, a church, and the "king's house"—a combination administration building and warehouse. This latter was to be the governor's residence as well; built like a fortress, it was to stand isolated from the rest. In the center of a plaza, and large enough to hold all the people, it was to command views of the four gates of the city. One hundred heads of families, dwelling each on a house-lot, were to form the soldier-farmer garrison of the place. The first town was to be erected within the Gulf, and another subsequently on the Atlantic side. They would, thought Velasco, serve to protect the Bahama Channel from the corsairs who had for many years been preying on the Spanish treasure ships. With a fortress and base within the Gulf and another at Santa Elena, standing opposite to the defenses of La Havana, the fleet routes would be "safe as far as the Azores," so the viceroy predicted.⁸⁷

The accepted tradition that Velasco was reluctant to forward this enterprise is far from correct, for he dedicated his time and energy lavishly to arranging its details. Not so his chief coadjutors in the government, the members of the audiencia. He complained of scant help from them, and found their interposition a decided handicap. So completely interwoven was this project with other affairs of government that it came to involve the basic financial policy of the viceroyalty, especially in the question of the system to be employed in collecting and expending the tributes. These were a most essential part of the public revenues at that time. Differences of opinion between the viceroy and the judges of this supreme court were responsible for the request by Velasco

⁸⁶ "The Luna Papers," I. 48, II. 154.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, II. 212, 224.

that the king send out a visitor-general to study the situation of the royal treasury and pass judgment on the conduct of all public officers.³⁸

After May 12, 1559, the expedition, in charge of Luna, moved from Tlaxcala toward San Juan de Ulúa, whence it was hoped that it would be able to embark during the course of the month. The governor for a time left the force at Jalapa, in charge of Ángel Villafañe, and busied himself closing his personal affairs, writing to the king for grants of more expense money and salary, and invoking the support of the provincials of the religious orders in Tlaxcala for his petition.³⁹

It is of interest to note that during these preparatory movements and throughout the course of the occupation of the northern coast, Ángel de Villafañe, later to serve as Luna's unsuccessful substitute, was an active participant. Orders were issued to have Villafañe receive the troops and review them when they reached Jalapa, while Luna was to go on to San Juan de Ulúa to complete the arrangements for embarkation. These relays of officials at points en route were for the sake of hastening the departure, for time was precious in getting off at the propitious season for navigation.⁴⁰

Already a problem had arisen concerning the projected colonization. From Tlaxcala on May 12, 1559, Velasco wrote to Luna: "They tell me that the *canaille* of halfbreeds, mulattoes, and Indians who are being taken by the people [soldiers] are very numerous; you will find that the great part of these will only serve to set the camp in confusion and eat up the supplies. I think it will be enough to send only as many servants as there are soldiers to go, and only those who are to embark should go down from Jalapa." At a later date the solicitous viceroy would be able to say with all solemnity that he had often warned Luna of the danger of clogging the expedition with useless members.⁴¹

The present collection contains two accounts of the embarkation from San Juan de Ulúa and the arrival upon the western shore of La Florida.⁴² A third account is in Barcia, who gives a most animated picture of Velasco haranguing the colonists just

³⁸ "The Luna Papers," II. 226.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 54, II. 192.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 192.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, I. 54, 188. See below, p. xlvii.

⁴² *Ibid.*, Luna to the king, misdated Tlaxcala, May 1, II. 210-212; Velasco to the king, Mexico, September 24, II. 270-276.

before they entered the ships to set forth on their perilous undertaking.⁴³ The account in Dávila Padilla naturally gives most attention to the part played in the event by the Dominican friars.⁴⁴ On the main points, all accounts agree. The expedition sailed on June 11. The party consisted of five hundred soldiers, one thousand servants and colonists (among whom were women and children, negroes, and Indians), and two hundred and forty horses, the latter by no means the least important. The people all reached their destination, but of the horses, only one hundred and thirty survived the short voyage.⁴⁵ There were, according to Dávila Padilla and Barcia, thirteen vessels in the fleet.⁴⁶ They voyaged seventeen days with fair winds, when they reached the longitude of the Mississippi, but were some twenty leagues to the south of its mouth, in latitude $27^{\circ} 15''$; from that point they were driven off their course to Alacrán Reef, off the coast of Yucatan. Thence sailing eight days northeast they sighted the coast of La Florida, eight leagues west of the Bay of Miruelo. After taking wood and water they sailed west on July 17 in quest of the port of Ochuse, sending a frigate in advance for the purpose. They missed it, and anchored in the Bahía Filipina, which had been discovered and recommended by Guido de las Bazaes. But in the belief that Ochuse was the safer of the two, Luna sent a frigate again toward the east to find it, and it was this time discovered twenty leagues to the east of the Bahía Filipina and thirty-five leagues more or less from the Bay of Miruelo. The Bahía Filipina of Bazaes was Mobile Bay, the port of Ochuse was Pensacola Bay, and the Bay of Miruelo seems to have been the body of water once called Espíritu Santo or Tampa Bay.⁴⁷

The frigate returned to Mobile Bay, and it was there decided

⁴³ *Ensayo cronológico*, año de 1559.

⁴⁴ *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lviii., p. 192.

⁴⁵ "The Luna Papers," II. 210; one hundred were lost, according to *idem*, II. 270.

⁴⁶ On the number of vessels these documents give only inferential information. On September 28, 1559, Luna wrote to Velasco that the hurricane had wrecked five ships having top-gallant sails, the galleon of Andonoguín, and one bark, that is seven ships in all. One galleon was sent to Velasco with the news, another vessel shortly went also to Mexico, and perhaps two were left at Ochuse. This accounts for eleven, not thirteen, vessels for the expedition ("The Luna Papers," I. 60). Luna said three escaped. *Ibid.*, II. 244.

⁴⁷ Lowery has interesting discussions of these bodies of water in *The Spanish Settlements*, I., Appendices T and U. His dissatisfaction with the descriptions he follows results largely from his assumption that the latitudes given by the discoverers were accurate.

to move to Pensacola Bay. The horses were disembarked and sent overland with some of the companies of soldiers. The departure of the fleet occurred on the eve of the Assumption of the Virgin, August 14, and Ochuse was entered on the same day. For this reason, and to honor the king, Ochuse was named by Luna the Bahía de Santa María Filipina. The viceroy's description of this bay, Pensacola, as taken from the pilots, announced it as the best port yet discovered in the Indies. It was three leagues wide at the spot where Luna anchored, the entrance over the bar being half a league wide, with a minimum depth of eleven cubits. Its landfall was marked by a reddish bluff which divided the eastern side of the bay. No storm could damage the ships at such a safe anchorage. There was scant population, only a few fishermen's huts being visible, and no resistance was offered. The place chosen for the first settlement was on a high point of land which commanded a view of the anchorage. Here the proposed town for eighty or one hundred persons was to be built; they were to defend the port, and the remainder of the party was to be taken inland to some place where subsistence could be obtained from the Indians, to save expense and provide assurance of safety. This was the immediate problem, after which the settlement of Santa Elena and the discovery of a land route to New Spain were to be the main objects of endeavor.⁴⁸

Upon their arrival at Pensacola Bay, the expeditionaries busied themselves for a time with enjoyment of the seashore upon which they found themselves. But soon the realities of their task were undertaken. Two ships were prepared to be sent to Spain with the account of the arrival. One of these was to carry the lay brother Fray Bartolomé Mateos, who was to seek to enlist friars for service in La Florida, and bring back additional colonists from Spain.

At the same time, two minor expeditions were sent out exploring. One went up the river which flowed into the bay, and the other made an entry by land. Fray Pedro de Feria went with the land party, and Fray Domingo de la Anunciación with the river party. Both detachments were to return in three or four days. As they found neither towns, natives, or food, they overstayed their leave, suffering the meanwhile intense pangs of hunger, but were unwilling to return before something could be found, for they had need to make some favorable discovery before their return to the

⁴⁸ "The Luna Papers," II. 212, 258.

bay. Finally, after a bootless absence of two weeks, during which time Luna had been awaiting their return that he might have some report to make concerning the interior, they made their way back to camp.

There, swift disaster had befallen. During the night of August 19, five days after the arrival, a fierce north wind broke over the harbor which Luna had so lavishly praised. It blew from various directions for twenty-four hours, snapping the moorings of the ships, breaking them up, sinking them, or running them aground. One caravel and two barks were all that remained of the entire fleet. Most of the supplies had been left on one of the vessels lost. The foodstuffs on shore were spoiled by drenching.⁴⁹ Dávila Padilla tells how one of the ships was driven into a clump of brushwood an arquebuse shot's distance from shore, and left there unhurt. The expeditionaries went to see it as a prodigy, and each man brought away everything bearing his mark, "for not a pin was missing."⁵⁰ There is no mention of this piece of good fortune in the governor's papers. Dávila gravely asserts that the water could not have carried the ship so far inland, and it must have been the work of demons, for they were seen in the air during the storm. Demons of hunger all were now to see, Luna first of all struggling to forefend it by dispatching a party inland promptly and by deciding to move his expedition thither before habilitating the port, for it now became a dire necessity to live upon the resources of the inhospitable and unpromising country until the food supply lost in the hurricane could be replaced from Mexico or Spain.⁵¹

The loss of life in the storm is not recorded. Dávila Padilla said that Brother Bartolomé Mateos, on one ship ready to sail for Spain, was lost with all on board when the vessel opened. Luna merely said that many people lost their lives and property.⁵²

The viceroy was informed on September 7 of the happy arrival of the expedition, by letters from Luna misdated August 24. On September 27 he received news of the hurricane of August 19 and 20 which had come so perilously near wrecking the enterprise. From that time Velasco strove incessantly to send forward more supplies. His difficulties were enormous. There were no foodstuffs

49 "The Luna Papers," II. 244.

50 *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lix., p. 195.

51 "The Luna Papers," II. 244.

52 *Ibid.*; *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lviii., pp. 196, 197.

of consequence at Vera Cruz. There were few ships in which to send them when once provisions had been moved down from the central plateau, frequently against the heavy odds of continuous rains, and always with slow transportation. There was no overland route to La Florida, over which cattle for food and horses for transportation could be taken. In short, the new conquest was beyond the capacity of New Spain to provide lines of communication. Campeche, La Havana, Vera Cruz, Pánuco, and Spain itself were all in turn called upon to support an expedition numbering at most fifteen hundred persons, but the effort was bootless because the projected expansion made too great a break with past achievement. If the fleet and the year's supply of food had not been destroyed, success might have been attained, though the hazards of the inhospitable shores of La Florida and the hostility of its inhabitants would still have remained.

In the struggle to provide the expeditionaries with subsistence, Velasco had the solicitous and efficient coöperation of Villafañe at Vera Cruz, where also the *alcalde mayor* served competently. Gonzalo Gayón the pilot and Luis Daza the factor were also active coadjutors.⁵³

The changed program necessitated by the loss of the fleet included maintenance of the port of Ochuse at Pensacola; for that purpose Juan Xaramillo was left there, the port being essential to hold as a point of vantage against possible foreign aggressors and as a place at which supplies from New Spain could be received. With this captain was left a detachment of some sixty soldiers, while Luna moved his main party to Nanipacana. Velasco had urged him not to go far inland from the port.⁵⁴

Under the threat of approaching starvation, without ships, but nevertheless without any intention of faltering in his emprise, Luna had previously sent out his major, Mateo del Sauz, Captain Cristóbal Ramírez y Arellano his nephew, Captain Álvaro Nieto, and other officers with a detachment of soldiers to make an overland exploration for the purpose of finding some Indian town upon the supplies of which the army might be fed. This party consisted of two hundred men; it set out from Ochuse prior to September 24, 1559, taking as spiritual comforters Fathers Anunciación and Salazar.⁵⁵

⁵³ "The Luna Papers," I. 56-78.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 6, 62.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 6, 92, II. 244; Dávila Padilla, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

The detachment marched over wastes, and through forests and swamps for forty leagues, when they came upon a large deep river, the Alabama, which they judged flowed into Mobile Bay. It showed signs of inhabitants. Going along the river bank the party shortly came upon some tiny settlements, one among them larger than the rest, which contained eighty houses. This was Nanipacana.⁵⁶

At the approach of the Spaniards under Sauz, the Indians fled the town, leaving their supply of corn and beans behind. The expeditionaries discovered the remains of a large anterior population in the shape of many ruined buildings. The frightened Indians were wheedled back by presents. They told how famous their city had been for its number of inhabitants and buildings, and said that previous Spaniards who had been there had seen it as it was. They had driven the Indians away and brought the ruin.⁵⁷

Luna kept in touch with the detachment, even proposing to send it supplies by dispatching vessels to Mobile Bay and up its river, which he spoke of as the Piache, "in search of Upiachi."⁵⁸ The party at Nanipacana found ample provisions for the time being. Scouting expeditions were sent about the country, and though they found no large towns near by, they sent a party of sixteen men to report to Luna at Ochuse. There the suffering from hunger was great. The governor had in the meantime sent another expedition up the river which flowed into the port of Santa María de Ochuse. This party was commanded by Captains Alonso de Castilla and Baltazar de Sotelo. These gentlemen returned with the report that this river, the Escambia, was full of bends and curves

⁵⁶ All previous accounts have called this place Nanipacna. In "The Luna Papers" the town is mentioned twenty times, being designated Nanipacana in ten of these, Ypacana in five, with other variants in the remainder, but never Nanipacna. It was evidently identical with or close by the Taliepacana of Rangel's narrative. See T. H. Lewis, "Route of De Soto's Expedition from Taliepacana to Hu La Sene" (Mississippi Historical Society *Publications*, VI. 451).

⁵⁷ Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxi., p. 199; Barcia, *Ensayo cronológico*, año 1560. Cf. Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements*, I., 361, and notes.

⁵⁸ T. H. Lewis, in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, editing "The Narrative of . . . The Gentleman of Elvas," speaks of the Piache as the Black Warrior River, pp. 188, 189. There is no reason to surmise that Luna's Piache was any other than the Alabama. Piache and Upiachi are used interchangeably in "The Luna Papers." Upiache was the place (at or near Nanipacana) from which Sauz set out for Coosa when the main party was beginning to suffer from lack of food, *ibid.*, I. 96, II. 118.

and flowed in a narrowly confined bed, which rendered it of little service for navigation. Its banks moreover were found to be but scantily populated. It was evidently of no use for the purposes in view.⁵⁹

Luna now considered that the Bay of Santa María was unhealthful, and suggested removal of the camp from it to the Bahía Filipina (of Bazares, Mobile Bay) or to some other spot farther inland on the Río de Piache, for the greater advantages of fertile soil and adequate sanitation.⁶⁰ These considerations, as well as the quest for food, for Luna had been very ill, were the antecedents of his call for a conference of the responsible members of the army. Luna himself was delirious with fever, "and said nonsensical and foolish things; and though he had been a widower for a long time he called for his wife Doña Isabel." The governor, the *maestre de campo*, the royal officials, and the vicar-provincial, after deliberation, agreed that all should go to Nanipacana for the sake of the food there. About the middle of February, 1560, the camp was divided into two parties, one setting out by land and the other by water. The land route was especially difficult for women and children; the river party in barks and caravels struggled valiantly against the current of the river. Both parties suffered hunger. But nearly fifteen hundred people were now in the town, which was christened Santa Cruz de Nanipacana, a village of eighty native houses; naturally the food supply soon became exhausted. Acorns served for a time, but the Spaniards disliked them, and mothers had to resort to gathering leaf-buds from the trees wherewith to feed their infants. Many persons died from eating poisonous roots and herbs.⁶¹

The new settlement was soon in dire straits. Supplies from New Spain had come in two ships sent from Vera Cruz in November, but these were far too scant in spite of the continuous efforts of Velasco. The Indians of La Florida were unable and unwilling to feed their uninvited guests. But there seemed one resource left. The wonderful land of Coosa, the fame of which had grown since Soto had found it a land of ample provisions, lay somewhere to the north. Some of the soldiers and gentlemen who had been with Soto, and the Indian women who had come originally from that

⁵⁹ "The Luna Papers," I. 96.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxi., pp. 200-201.

famed province, encouraged the idea of moving farther inland to the home of plenty.⁶²

On the fifteenth of April, the treasurer, Alonso Velázquez, and Sebastián Gamboa having been previously sent to La Havana for supplies, the detachment designed to discover anew the way to Coosa set forth from Nanipacana. It was headed by the major, Mateo del Sauz. With him went Captains Cristóbal Ramírez y Arellano, Álvaro Nieto, Alonso de Castilla, Gonzalo Sánchez de Aguilar, and Rodrigo Vázquez. Fathers Anunciación and Salazar were the religious advisers for these gentlemen and the two hundred soldiers who made up the contingent. They marched north-eastward, the immediate quest being food and their ultimate aim that of finding a suitable area in which to plant an inland settlement. In some places they found trails, but for the most part the way was made through the wilderness with great effort. The expected Indian stores of maize were nowhere to be found, and the soldiers were reduced to eating the trappings of their horses; some found the leather of their shields a dainty morsel.⁶³ For forty-three days they advanced, finding little food save herbs, blackberries, and acorns. About that time they had word from Luna through friendly Indians of his extreme need of food, so the major sent two or three canoes and some rafts with about forty bushels of corn which had been come upon unexpectedly. This sustenance was given in charge of Juan Porras with six men; they went back to Nanipacana from a place called Caxiti, on the Alabama River.⁶⁴ Not until August of the same year did the Coosa party learn whether Porras reached the main body.

Ten or twelve days after sending the corn, the major's party, fifty-seven days after leaving Nanipacana, came upon some huts on a river bank, the first break in the solitude. This was Onachiqui, one of the first towns of Coosa, and estimated to be ninety or one hundred leagues from Nanipacana, over very difficult roads. The largest river near at hand was called the Olibahali; its name is sometimes confused with that of the tiny Indian village. Here were maize, beans, and squashes, though in too small quantities

⁶² Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxii., p. 201. "The Luna Papers," I. 6, 96.

⁶³ Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxiii., p. 202.

⁶⁴ "The Luna Papers," I. 224, 234. Caxiti may have been the Casiste of "The Narrative of . . . the Gentleman of Elvas," cf. T. H. Lewis, ed., in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States* . . ., p. 187.

for the famished Spaniards.⁶⁵ The Indians feared the Spanish arms, but returned to their homes when reassured by the Spaniards, who were careful to lodge outside the town in order to prevent any untoward event. Through interpreters they bartered their clothing for corn, as the Indians of the place had no desire for money. Placing nightly sentries, the party rested at Onachiqui several days awaiting a number of stragglers. The whole party was depressed; many were ill, and all of them were harassed by fear of coming starvation. Some were without shoes, having eaten them; others had given practically all their clothing for food. The spirits of the expeditionaries were revived by Father Anunciación on the feast of St. John the Baptist when, as he was celebrating mass, a poisonous worm which had crawled up the chalice of consecrated wine fell dead in answer to the father's prayer that it might not fall into the vessel. This was considered a sign of the care of Providence over the expedition.⁶⁶

Although the Indians of the town appeared friendly, they were alarmed at the rapid reduction made by the strangers in their food supply, and resorted to a barbarous device to get them out of the country. One day at sunset came an Indian with four retainers to the Spanish camp impersonating an ambassador; he was from the chief of Coosa and came to offer it all to them, begging them to hasten to that province or chief town. The Spaniards allowed themselves to be deceived, and set out with the pseudo ambassador as guide. But as soon as they were well outside of the Olibahali region he vanished. Yet the soldiers pressed on toward the land of desire, reaching it after nearly three months' absence from Nanipacana, and finding it to be merely a village of thirty-odd houses and seven small groups of huts round about.⁶⁷ Five of

⁶⁵ Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxiii., p. 202; "The Luna Papers," I. 224, 234.

⁶⁶ Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxii., pp. 202-204.

⁶⁷ "The Luna Papers," I. 236, 238. Lowery, *op. cit.*, I., 364, note 2, says: "Gatschet (*Migration Legend*, vol. I., p. 136) says it was 'the same as de Soto's.' Fairbanks (*Hist. of Florida*, p. 88) says 'the Coosa country in northeastern Alabama.' Dávila Padilla (*ibid.*, Lib. I., cap. lxii., p. 246) says it was two hundred leagues from the port. Barcia (*Ensayo cronológico*, fol. 34, Año MDLX.) says it was 'two hundred leagues from Nanipacna.'"

"The Luna Papers," opinion of the *maestre de campo* (I. 200), adducing the opinion of Captain Cristóbal, makes the distance two hundred leagues "that they have traveled," presumably not only from Nanipacana, but from the port. The royal officials, in their opinion (I. 206), citing the letters from the interior, called the distance one hundred and eighty leagues, rather more than less, from Nanipacana to Coosa. Several persons of the camp at Coosa, who, un-

these were smaller than Coosa, and two larger. They were all included under the name Coosa, as if in memory of earlier days of more substantial splendor.

This was a hard let-down for the expectant conquerors, though their real hopes of Coosa do not seem from the present documents to have been as roseate as Dávila Padilla painted them. While it may be that they had hopes of a great kingdom, they were actually in quest of mere food on which to exist for the time being, and a location adapted for settling down to raise crops and cattle. Dávila Padilla says: "The number of its people had been represented to them as innumerable, the site more level than the plazas of Mexico; the fountains were many and clear, the food superabundant, and the gold and silver plentiful."⁶⁸ It does not seem to have occurred to the good father that if Soto had found the country as opulent as all this he would have then and there ceased his wanderings. If the charms of the country had been exaggerated, and the viceroy often voiced his opinion that it was a land of plenty, there is scant foundation for believing that the expeditionaries expected to find any replica of the wealth of the Incas or the Aztecs.

The people of Coosa received the Spaniards well, and gave them about four bushels of corn daily, not a lavish allowance. Inquiry and search at once began for precious metals, without results. Only two other towns appeared to be near, Olibahali, which they had come through, and the town of the Napochies, farther on. These latter Indians were enemies of those of Coosa, and the Spaniards espoused the cause of their hosts, aiding them to defeat

like the preceding, had actually traveled the route, said in their letter (I. 222), that they were one hundred and twenty leagues more or less from Nanipacana. The sargento mayor, writing with several others, said (I. 236) that Onachiqui, first town of Coosa, was ninety or one hundred leagues, marching fifty-seven days, from Nanipacana. Father Salazar wrote (I. 244) that it must be one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty leagues from Coosa to Nanipacana. Thus the estimates of those who had made the journey varied from ninety to one hundred and thirty leagues, a difference of forty leagues, or over one hundred miles. It is evident that these estimates varied according to the personal interests of the observers. The party under Captain Cristóbal, which returned from Coosa to Santa María de Ochuse in twelve days, could not have made an average daily distance of more than twenty miles, which would give the distance as about two hundred and forty miles. This would place Coosa, as Lowery did (*op. cit.*, 232, 364), in Talladega County, Alabama. "Cousa" is shown on "A New Map of North America . . . 1783," in Thos. Jefferys, *American Atlas*, 1776 [!], as lying on the upper half of the Cousa River, tributary to the Alabama.

⁶⁸ *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxiii., p. 205.

the rebellious Napochies, who had been tributaries. In this enterprise the major's detachment pursued the enemy across the "Big Water," called by the Coosas the Oquechiton, by Dávila Padilla the Espíritu Santo, and by us the Mississippi.⁶⁹

The adventure was really in repayment for hospitality, and brought some of the enemy's provisions into use, but it did not disclose any rich country, or any hope of permanent settlement. Major Sauz was fearful that he would be chided, and told that he could not find a suitable place to colonize because he did not know how to look for one, so he sent Captain Don Cristóbal with a detachment of twelve or sixteen soldiers with letters to Nanipacana to urge Luna to come and see the country for himself and decide whether a colony should be planted or not.⁷⁰

It was now the end of July, 1560. During the interval Luna and his main party had been fighting starvation at Nanipacana. Four ships had been tardily dispatched on June 23 from Vera Cruz under Luis Daza with supplies, but to the distress of the expeditionaries, did not arrive. They had been delayed because of sending the flota to Spain. In Mexico Velasco had been obliged to give up his cherished idea of driving some five thousand head of cattle and horses overland from northern New Spain to Luna's province. The difficulties of the northern roads were too great, and the way westward from Ochuse to the Mississippi had not yet been discovered, nor had any solution of the problem of crossing the animals over the Mississippi been worked out. Nothing was known of what had happened to the Sauz party in the interior, and gaunt hunger was leading to disorders among the hundreds of starving people, some of whom had already succumbed to hardships. By June 11 the discontent, for some time vocal, had become documentary and legalistic in character. The married soldiers, recording the distress of their helpless wives and children, besought Luna to send them back to New Spain.⁷¹ They had seen no place worth settling in, no Indians who would accept Christianity, and they were starving. Their plea was answered by a peremptory order to be silent, under penalty of being adjudged traitors. They were to wait fifty days, at the end of which time, if help did not come,

⁶⁹ The episode with the Napochies is told graphically by Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., caps. lxiv.-lxvi. Only scant reference to it is made in "The Luna Papers," I. 230. Cf. Lowery, *op. cit.*, pp. 362-367.

⁷⁰ "The Luna Papers," I. 226. The letters from the interior are on I. 218-246.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, I. 100, 132-134.

they and the governor would write to the viceroy asking what they should do.⁷² This was scant comfort for gnawing stomachs, and the petitioners on June 17 reiterated their plaint, for there were no herbs to be had in a radius of seven or eight miles around the camp, the Indians had destroyed whatever fields they had had, and the ration was half a pound of meat only, on which life hung by a slender thread. The soldiers also amended their petition with a request that Luna refrain from his project of sending the brigantine away to La Havana for supplies, lest they perish before its return.⁷³ Its better utilization would be for taking them home. This time Luna receded from his threat to punish traitors, and promised to hear their petition and do justice.

But dissatisfaction at still lower social levels now became vociferative. On June 23 the Indians from Mexico City and Tatebula remonstrated against the fact that they were the chief sufferers from the prevailing want. There were no herbs, roots, acorns, or corn for them within a radius of four leagues. They asked for a ship in which to be sent to New Spain. Again Luna promised justice. The principal Indians added their petition also, which was answered by the same promise.⁷⁴

These written petitions had evidently been preceded by much vocal complaint. On June 19 Luna had been petitioned by almost everyone who wanted to get out of the country. He had been unwilling to grant anyone license to go, it being contrary to the viceroy's wish and to the success of the enterprise. But the *maestre de campo*, the royal officials, and the captains supplicated him to give the people all the relief possible and, in response to their request, he called a meeting of his advisers, the above named persons and other responsible functionaries, in war council to determine upon a line of action. To them assembled the governor rehearsed how he had, as they knew, sent expeditions in all directions, by land and by water, in quest of food. The major, he reported, had sent back word from Coosa that his party was in a populous fertile country, but although a small party had been sent inland to obtain more definite information concerning the situation there, the hunger was so pressing that there was not time to await a reply. Wherefore he was determined to go from

⁷² "The Luna Papers," I. 136.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, I. 138-142. About this time a bark was sent to New Spain from Nanipacana (*ibid.*, II. 38).

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 142-146.

Nanipacana with the able-bodied soldiers to join Sauz in Coosa. He would compel no one, but would lead all who would go with him, yet he ordered the captains to be ready to set out with him in two days' time. The married soldiers were to be left behind with Jorge Cerón, *maestre de campo*, whose duty it would be to move them to a more favorable location where they could obtain some measure of relief for their hunger.⁷⁵

The heroic remedy thus suggested was considered quixotic by Luna's followers. In their surprise at the proposal, they asked for time in which to formulate their replies, which were expected to be in writing, as had been the opinion of the chief. When the answers were presented they were found to be unanimous in dissent. The first and principal remonstrant was the second in command, Jorge Cerón. Like Luna, the *maestre de campo* had seen many years of service in New Spain, he having been with Cortés in the Gulf of California, as Luna had been with Coronado in New Mexico. As *maestre de campo* and chief justice he was entitled to submit the leading opinion. Old and self-willed, he was the commander's chief irritant in the desperate situation.

He opined voluminously that the proposal to go to Coosa was impracticable. He pointed out that the people were weakened by hunger and by despair at the failure of the ships to arrive from New Spain which had been expected throughout April, May, and June. The hostile Indians had uprooted everything edible for miles around. Finally, after a proposal to send a ship to La Havana for supplies had been given up, the whole camp had petitioned that they should all be taken down the river to the Bahía Filipina. To this Luna had answered with his proposal to take them to Coosa. This, said Cerón, was unwise, even impossible. The Indians were hostile, and the roads led through deserts. There were parties of men still out on food-searches who ought to be awaited; relief might arrive at any moment by sea, and new orders might come from the viceroy, for a bark had been sent to New Spain forty days previously, that is, in May, bearing a report on conditions in the camp and a plea for succor. All these things being so, the proposed expedition to Coosa ought to be deferred, and in the meantime devices adopted for self-help, for there was then only sufficient food for twelve or fifteen days more.⁷⁶

The opinion of the *maestre de campo* was concurred in by

⁷⁵ "The Luna Papers," I. 146-150.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 158.

Captains Pedro de Acuña, Baltazar de Sotelo, Diego Téllez, Juan de Porras, Antonio Ortiz de Matienzo, and Pedro López de Nava. It was, they thought, bootless to undertake to find Sauz, the major, for the risk might result in the destruction of the whole expedition. Their unanimous opinion was that the camp should be moved downstream to the Bahía Filipina.⁷⁷ Alonso Fajardo, a gentleman of the camp described merely as a private person but who was of sufficient category to proffer an opinion and have it received, offered his personal advice to the same general effect, adding his belief that the *maestre de campo* would not, if left behind with a detachment of the married soldiers, be able to control them if Luna were absent. Don Martín Doz, one of Luna's nephews present (another being Don Christóbal Ramírez), and Captain Julián de Acuña also voted against the inland expedition, and in favor of descending the river.⁷⁸ Alonso Velázquez Rodríguez and Alonso Pérez, the royal officials, asserted their traditional function as checks upon the chief executive by declaring that his plan to send the married soldiers and the invalids to the bay while he should lead the effectives inland was decidedly unsatisfactory for many and divers reasons. No word, they declared, had been received from the major in the interior, none had come from Captain Juan Xaramillo and his settlement at Santa María de la Bahía Filipina, and none from the detachment which had been sent thither to learn tidings of the fleet expected from New Spain. Added to this uncertainty, the discontent in the camp had led to affronts against the leader which menaced the welfare of the army if any perilous undertaking were to be hazarded. Their advice was that Luna should lead his undivided expedition to some place where it could, in conformity with the opinions of the military officers, be provided with the necessities of life. If he refused, they protested that they would sue the leader before any appropriate court for any damages that might ensue from his determination if he persisted.⁷⁹

The leader had been met by the unanimous opposition of his lawful counsellors, and though he might have overridden their advice, he yielded on June 22, and ordered that the ill-starred settlement at Santa Cruz de Nanipacana should be deserted, and that the people should prepare to move to the Bahía Filipina

⁷⁷ "The Luna Papers," I. 158-164.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 166-168.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, I. 170, 176.

(Mobile Bay) two days hence. There they could subsist on fish, crayfish, and oysters, until the expected relief should come from New Spain.⁸⁰

That the Coosa party might be informed, should it return to Nanipacana, as to what had become of the governor and his people, a placard was nailed to a tree and inscribed with the legend "Dig below." At the base of the tree was placed an urn containing a letter giving the information.⁸¹ Then the town was deserted on or shortly after June 24, 1560.

In the meantime Captain Don Cristóbal Ramírez y Arellano had been making his way back from Coosa with the letters of the officers and friars there. Reaching the desolate Nanipacana and eliciting no reply to his gun-shot challenges, he and his detachment spent a night outside the town site for safety's sake. But in the morning they found the buried message and hastened on to join the main party at the Bahía Filipina.⁸²

The latter had made the journey downstream with unexpected difficulty. It was extremely meager provender that was found along the river banks, and many supplies and weapons were lost from the rafts "before the governor's eyes." Those who arrived safely, and there was some loss of life, considered themselves lucky.⁸³ Eight days after they reached the port, the long-delayed fleet from New Spain arrived, but it did not bring enough supplies to provide for the want, as it had been thought that greater plenty abounded in La Florida. Hence it became necessary to send away a number of the women, children, and invalids, in order that they might not consume the supplies so badly needed for the soldiers. About the same time Luis Daza was sent to La Havana in the galleon *San Juan* for more food. Shortly after went Father Pedro de Feria in "the French ship," the vicar-provincial, the other religious who were at the port, and Captain Juan Xaramillo.⁸⁴ They carried reports concerning the state of the enterprise, and trans-shipped at La Havana for Vera Cruz.

But the fleet which had arrived had brought new commands from the king which added to the perplexities of the hard beset governor. Barely had Philip received news of Luna's happy arrival at Ochuse

⁸⁰ "The Luna Papers," I. 170.

⁸¹ Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxvii., p. 217.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 218-220.

⁸³ "The Luna Papers," I. 216, II. 120.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 122, 136; Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxvii., pp. 217-218.

when he issued a *cédula*, on December 18, 1559, which upset the viceroy's plans. He wrote that the settlement of Santa Elena should be given precedence, and that the work on the Gulf coast should be left as it was, notwithstanding whatever Velasco might have ordered. There was urge for this in the need to convert the natives and provide refuge for Spanish ships, indeed, but the chief purpose in view had been to anticipate the French, "for although we have peace with France we have learned that Frenchmen, under color of going to Los Bacallaos, may desire to go to La Florida and settle in it and take possession of our lands, which we must prevent. And so I command you, notwithstanding any other order which you may have to the contrary from our viceroy, to settle first a town at the Punta de Santa Elena before any other."⁸⁵ This did not mean total abandonment of the western project, to be sure, but it meant division of dwindling resources, changed plans, new hazards in rough seas on an uncharted coast, renewed efforts on the part of discontented and dejected explorers. Being an imperative necessity in the royal mind, the Santa Elena effort was ordered in triplicate copies of the *cédula*, each of them proceeding by a different route, so that no delay might be entailed by shipwreck or other mishap. Evidently Philip believed that some imminent danger existed from the aspirations of the French. Velasco in Mexico received the order promptly, probably about Palm Sunday, when the great fleet arrived.⁸⁶ He transmitted it to Luna on May 5, urging haste in complying, so as to forefend French or Scotch aggression. The viceroy realized that the order was inopportune, as Luna's men could not go overland to the Atlantic coast without more horses and leaving the Gulf practically unprotected; yet it seemed to him that "what his Majesty commands should be complied with, as from his much insistence he must have indications that foreigners are trying to enter there."⁸⁷ Again he avers, "this taking possession of lands is a matter of much importance between kings."⁸⁸

At the time the order reached La Florida the movement from Nanipacana to the Bahía Filipina had just occurred. Shortly afterward, on August 10, Luna sent a party by sea under his nephew Don Martín Doz to effect a reconnaissance and temporary

⁸⁵ "The Luna Papers," II. 16.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 156.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 122.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, II. 138.

settlement.⁸⁹ Second in command and named as successor in case of mishap to Doz went Captain Diego Biedma, who had gathered new recruits for La Florida, and must have arrived there on Luis Daza's ships in July.⁹⁰ The party contained royal officials to guard possible treasury receipts, and objects were taken for barter with the Indians. The small fleet was composed of two frigates and a small bark; it carried between fifty and sixty men, including some new recruits brought by Biedma, eight pieces of artillery, powder, balls, arquebuses, and a forge.⁹¹ It sailed from Ochuse or Polonza, as the port was indifferently called,⁹² at a time when supplies, though replenished, were still low, when discontent was rife, and while as yet no word had been received from the party in Coosa. The venture was under Luna's evil star. The vessels were caught in a storm and dispersed as they neared La Havana. One of them ran ashore, and one of its officers, Antonio Velázquez, who had been an ensign all through Luna's attempted colonization, went to search for them between Cape San Antón and Cape Catoche and along the coast of Yucatan. They were ultimately found, though for a long time they were considered lost.⁹³ When at last they reached New Spain, about the end of September, Captain Martín Doz with them, Velasco was once more disheartened, for the immediate occupation of Santa Elena was now out of the question. He was nettled at Luna for having placed his very youthful nephew in command of the vessels. The stripling gave a sorry account of his experiences, and Velasco commented with an asperity unusual to his gentle nature that he ought to be sent back to Luna or home to his wife in Spain. The episode was doubtless one of the causes of Luna's subsequent removal from the governorship.

An essential cause of the misfortunes of the expedition was the poor health of the leader. The first attack of indisposition had come at Ochuse; this the governor acknowledged, though he denied any later incapacity.⁹⁴ But the *maestre de campo* averred that Luna was so ill at Nanipacana that the friars and captains dis-

⁸⁹ "The Luna Papers," II. 122.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 102, 130.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, II. 122, 136, 138.

⁹² Polonza is the name applied in twelve cases, Ochuse being mentioned fifteen or more times, with no indication whether a slight difference in location existed or not. In each case the port where Luna set up his first establishment is indicated. See the Index.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, I. 170, II. 14, 136, 138, 140, 158, 170, 251.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 180, II. 46.

cussed relieving him of the command, and for a few days Cerón actually substituted for him.⁹⁵ After the return from Nanipacana to Ochuse the whole burden of the opposition to the governor rested upon the assertion of his followers that he had lost his reason through illness.⁹⁶ Another potent cause of disaster was the attempt to begin colonization by families before a reasonable conquest had been achieved. A group of married men with their families returned to New Spain shortly after the petition registered by them at Nanipacana, as they arrived in Vera Cruz in charge of Don Carlos de Zúñiga and Father Juan Mazuelos during July, 1560.⁹⁷ The viceroy had no regret for their return, though he had been unwilling to grant licenses to members of the expedition to leave La Florida; but since food had become so scarce there was no use for non-combatants. This was not the beginning of Velasco's mistrust of the colonizing phase of the enterprise. He wrote to Luna, "I told you many times not to take so many married men with wives and children, for experience shows that they are of little effect."⁹⁸ This was a sharp dig, and not very magnanimous coming after the event, for the viceroy himself should have restrained Luna's recruiting activities properly, preventing him from loading his expedition with unpromising responsibilities at the outset.

It was in the midst of a general desire to desert the expedition that Don Cristóbal Ramírez de Arellano and his party from Coosa arrived at Ochuse, on or about August 26. Immediately upon their coming, Luna attempted to revive his plan of a march to the interior. He called a conference of his advisers, among them Don Cristóbal, read and discussed with them the letters from the Coosa party urging this measure, and announced his determination to adopt the suggestion. There was some reason for the project. The major, Sauz, wrote that there was an element of possibility of making a settlement in Coosa; there were small stretches of level open ground, the Indians were at least tolerant, and food was to be had in small quantities. The least resistant physically of the small army at the port had been sent away, relief had again been asked for, and some supplies had been brought. Also, the order of the king had indicated a desire to push the conquest toward the

⁹⁵ "The Luna Papers," II. 32.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 30-38, 52, 58, 66, 78.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 180, 188.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, I. 188; see above, p. xxxiii.

east. On the other hand the condition of the expeditionaries had not been wholly alleviated by these means. They were still weak, without sufficient clothing, and, most of all, they were disheartened. All but two of the friars had gone to New Spain, and it is to be considered certain that their recommendations were against the continuation of the enterprise. Therefore the opposition to the governor's proposal was more determined and violent than it had been upon the first occasion of its suggestion at Nanipacana.⁹⁹

In this situation, the governor's order gave rise to a long and bitter lawsuit between Luna on the one side and all or nearly all his officers and the royal officials on the other. With the officers, the Dominicans Anunciación and Salazar followed Cerón in the opposition. The legal documents drawn up in this suit constitute the bulk of the new materials now first brought to light concerning this expedition, and form the basis of the following pages of this narrative.

The opinion of Luna's opponents was that the suggestion made by the major, Sauz, was only half-hearted and animated by a desire to evade responsibility and silence criticism. When Luna announced his determination to adopt it, his subordinates asked to be allowed to submit their opinions in writing after perusal of the letters from Coosa and the letter which Luna told them he had written to the viceroy. Immediately after having done this, the *maestre de campo* advised against the proposal.¹⁰⁰ Thereupon the royal officials concurred, suggesting, as had Cerón, that instead a small party be dispatched to recall Sauz and his detachment, and that a small vessel in the port be sent to the viceroy, bearing unfit members of the expedition and asking renewed instructions from Velasco which, it was anticipated, would order the abandonment of the land of La Florida.¹⁰¹ Captains Pedro de Acuña, Ramírez de Arellano, Sotelo, Téllez, Porras, and Julián de Acuña joined in a similar opinion.¹⁰² The letters in question were demanded of the governor, and filed in evidence among the papers of the lawsuit. Luna replied to all the opinions, threats, protests, and pusillanimous reasonings of his recalcitrant followers by publishing a list of the captains and soldiers who were ordered to follow him to Coosa, and issuing a schedule of rations to be taken.

⁹⁹ "The Luna Papers," I. 198, 206.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, I. 198-204.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, I. 204-212.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, I. 212-216.

This was of course a departure from ordinary practice in case of crises during military occupations, but it was quite within the legal authority of the governor so to do. If he had been a younger and more forceful man, or of more decisive character, and had followed his documentary firmness by the swift execution of the first insubordinate, or if he had been willing to shoot down Cerón with his own hand, he might have subdued the opposition. Imagine a Magellan at the Port of San Julián. But the first mistake was in permitting the officers to submit opinions in writing.¹⁰³ The precise proposal of the governor was to take inland one hundred effective men on horses, to join Sauz and establish an interior settlement. It was not a novel idea, but part of the original plan.

The captains had now reached such a point of insubordination that they demanded that the order be issued to them in writing. Luna answered by setting Monday, September 2, as the day of departure.¹⁰⁴ The captains and royal officials replied evasively that they would respond in a manner conducive to the good of his Majesty's service. The royal officials thereupon presented a petition asking that the departure be deferred until after a conference of all persons of responsible position could be called to discuss the issue, and to consider the opinions which they had rendered after the first conference but which had not been noticed by the governor.

Luna countered by reiterating his orders and condemning the disobedient to having their Indians in New Spain in encomienda confiscated. Against this sentence the royal officials appealed to Luna himself as the proper judge in second instance, and again called on him for a conference. Luna replied that he was already familiar with the original opinions he was now asked to call a meeting to consider, and that there was nothing to do but get ready to march.

Cristóbal Ramírez de Arellano, Luna's nephew, upon receiving notice to get ready, replied that though he was worn by his recent journey from Coosa, had given his opinion against the project, and had available only one horse and one soldier, yet he was ready to go.¹⁰⁵ This was the only manifestation of loyalty amid the general dissent. The other captains demanded that Luna give the reasons why, protesting that the only motive so far given was the

¹⁰³ "The Luna Papers," I. 244-248. The opinions are in I. 200-216.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 248, 250.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 2.

invitation sent by the major, and that self-interest, not the king's service, prompted him and Luna alike. They also protested that the losses from the proposed journey, if it were made, should be legally held against Luna and not themselves.¹⁰⁶ The governor again countered by demanding an inventory of the food on hand, allotting a meager ration from it for one hundred men, and reiterating his command to prepare for the march. He also began an investigation of those soldiers who had been gambling away their arms and clothing, a wile evidently resorted to by astute expeditionaries who had health, arms, and clothing, but no stomach for the new attempt to press inland.¹⁰⁷

Now the lesser luminaries of the mutinous camp, the company soldiers, contrary to all precedent of the times, presented to the governor a writing in which they asserted that their hardships had unfitted them for the proposed expedition. They were naked, unarmed, and ill. Of one hundred and sixty armed men in the camp there were not ten who were able to travel ten leagues, let alone two hundred. All the people who might have done so Luna had sent back to New Spain although they were well and strong because they had never left the camp and had had plenty to eat. Furthermore, they knew that the king had ordered the western enterprise abandoned in order that Santa Elena might be promptly settled. Luna merely reiterated orders to be ready to leave at any time on Monday, saying that he had attended to the matter of Santa Elena.¹⁰⁸

On August 30 the captains presented a petition recording how they had been sentenced to lose their Indians and how Captain Téllez had been sentenced to death, all for merely refusing to undertake an impossible journey. They appealed from these sentences to the viceroy and the audiencia. Many were the obstacles which supported their attitude. The soldiers declared that they would rather be hanged than go. The journey was "not to the service of God or his Majesty"—a cant phrase reiterated *ad nauseam* throughout the documents of the lawsuit whenever sub-

¹⁰⁶ Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxxviii., p. 220, avers that when Luna iterated his determination to go to Coosa "the captain who had come from there" told him that the two hundred soldiers in Coosa could not have been fed but for the corn taken from the Napochies, there being no other town within fifty leagues. See the attitude of the other captains, "The Luna Papers," II. 4-6.

¹⁰⁷ "The Luna Papers," II. 6.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, II. 15.

ordinates invoked self-interest in vindication of disobedience to the will of the commander. Luna replied that he himself was going to set forth on Monday, at which time he would see who would follow him as ordered; at that time he would pass judgment upon the validity of their appeals.¹⁰⁹

On the same day the royal officials presented a petition of demand upon Luna, in which they appealed from his reiterated orders, demanding that he take action on a prior report made at their request to the effect that he was not fit to govern because of his illnesses.¹¹⁰ If necessary, they would require the *maestre de campo* and the captains to prevent his going until word could come from the viceroy. If Luna and the officers mentioned should not heed, they would require an accounting from them before a competent tribunal when the proper time should arrive. They also demanded that a vessel in the port, about to be sent to New Spain, should bear transcripts of their opinions and those of the other officers in revolt, and that the new orders in the premises from the viceroy should be awaited. To them Luna also reiterated his determination to set out, and his asseveration that he would act upon their appeal when he saw who would follow him when the crucial moment of departure should arrive.¹¹¹

It was now apparent to the recalcitrant subordinates that nothing was to be gained through direct appeals to the governor. They therefore changed their tactics, and presented a petition to the *maestre de campo*, Jorge Cerón, in which they refurbished their old opinion that Luna was incompetent to govern the camp because he had lost his reason; and so they asked Cerón to assume the direction of affairs as governor.¹¹²

The old warhorse was willing enough to cause trouble, and to set his opinion with that of his associates against the sole will of the governor, but he was too clever a campaigner to allow himself to be tricked into a position which might easily bring upon his head the royal wrath or the disapproval of the viceroy. As yet, definitive answer to the reports sent by Father Feria had not been received, and there was no assurance that the advice of the united opponents of Luna would be taken. Indeed, there was evidence, in the haste to occupy Santa Elena, that some other solution

¹⁰⁹ "The Luna Papers," II. 18-22.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, II. 22-26.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, II. 26.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, II. 26-30.

than abandonment of the conquest might be undertaken. Hence Cerón felt justified in reminding the captains that they themselves were largely responsible for the mess they were in. There had been at prior times, he said, greater need of deposing the governor than at present. The *maestre de campo* had asked for a conference at Nanipacana when Luna was ill there, over the question as to who would properly succeed him or substitute for him. It had been declared by the responsible officers that Cerón should do this, and he actually assumed the control in the governor's name; but within two days Luna had sent him off up the river to seek food; no one of the officers had objected to this bit of strategy at that time, or to Luna's informal resumption of authority. When Cerón returned from his quest, he found the governor in the same state of illness in which he had left him, but still in control. Before long the Dominicans had urged the *maestre de campo* to assume the control, but he had resisted their pleas as not consistent with his honor. They insisted, going to Luna himself and urging the substitution. In all this the captains had raised no voice in support of Cerón, and when he called them to a meeting with Luna to discuss the proposed change they all voted that the governor was quite competent, although the camp had been continuously mutinous and some soldiers had been hanged to restore discipline.¹¹³

When the camp was removed from Nanipacana to the Bahía Filipina, Luna was worse, having such high fevers that he could not attend to affairs. At that time the royal officials had requested a report on his health and mental condition. While it was being drawn up to send to the king, the decision was made to remove the camp from the Bahía Filipina to Ochuse or Polonza, no reason being given, save that it may be inferred that provisions were not as ample at the former as at the latter, or that it would be better to await there contacts from New Spain, for the viceroy would not be likely to send ships to the Bahía Filipina, because Ochuse was the established port. Cerón himself had opposed the move, but was overruled by majority opinion, and after the transfer nothing more had been said for some time about the suggested report on Luna's competency.

When the expedition had arrived at Ochuse from the Bahía Filipina the married soldiers, women, and children were separated

¹¹³ "The Luna Papers," II. 30-32. Dávila Padilla omits all mention of the lawsuits, mutinies, and hanging of soldiers.

from the camp, some of them no doubt being then returned to New Spain. The move to Ochuse had been disapproved by Cerón, for the reason that he himself had been left behind with a detachment at the Bahía Filipina. Soon afterward, he rejoined the main body at Ochuse, there finding that no one was opposing the issue of orders by Luna, nor did any one refer to the matter of his competency. Hence it was apparent that up to the moment of his decision to go inland there had been no presumption that Luna should not discharge his normal functions. This, said Cerón, was reason enough why he should not try to usurp powers not logically his. What he would do would be to serve as best he might as chief justice.¹¹⁴

The manner was petulant, but the reasoning was good. As the company officers attempted to reinforce the petitions of their superiors, Cerón answered them curtly that they should obey their superiors, omit petitions, and leave business affairs to those who were accustomed and competent to handle them.¹¹⁵ The governor, observing the petition on file, demanded that Cerón refrain from receiving such documents; this gave the latter opportunity to address the governor again in writing, in which he urged anew that the Coosa journey be deferred pending orders from New Spain. All the opposition joined again in petitions to Cerón that he receive their report on Luna's incompetence, but he remained adamant. Therefore the royal officials, firm in their intention to use the *maestre de campo* to prevent the inland expedition, again changed their tactics, and sent him a petition asking him as guardian of the supplies to prevent issue thereof as requisitioned by Luna for the hundred men and their servants.¹¹⁶

This move had the desired effect. The fateful second day of September arrived. Of all the list of men who were ordered to appear at the royal house to receive provisions for the journey, none did so save only Luna's personal servants. The others had flatly adopted a mutinous attitude, encouraged by the disobedience under legal forms indulged in by their superiors. Luna's servants were therefore refused rations on the grounds of humanity by Cerón and the royal officials, whose duty it was to issue them to all who should appear. It would indeed have been folly for Luna to have set out with only a few servants.¹¹⁷ The poor old *hidalgo* had com-

¹¹⁴ "The Lune Papers," II. 34-38.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 44.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 54-64.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 68-70.

pletely lost control of his entire camp. A Cortés or a Soto would even so have mastered the situation, could he have conceivably allowed it to arise. But Luna was too close to the viceroy for independence, and too far away for help. Furthermore, either from advanced age, illnesses, or native disposition, he was obsessed with a strange admixture of obstinacy, piety, and inactivity. There was for such a man nothing to do but resume the ludicrous battle of documents and legal decisions. He therefore condemned the officers all to death, at the same time admitting their appeals from his sentences to the authorities of New Spain.¹¹⁸

On the same day the *maestre de campo* on his own responsibility convoked his followers, the governor naturally not being in attendance, to arrange to send Captain Porras and a small detachment to recall Mateo del Sauz and his men from Coosa. This was not without Luna's knowledge, as Dávila Padilla avers.¹¹⁹ A muster-roll was drawn up and announced to the camp by a crier, and suitable military instructions were given to Captain Porras. It was announced that Luna's proposed expedition had been given up, but the men of the Porras detachment were condemned in advance to death if any should refuse to go.¹²⁰

Following a renewed attempt, unsuccessful like the former one of the company officers and soldiers of the camp on September 6 to induce Cerón to receive and act upon their proposed affidavit that Luna was incompetent to continue as governor, there was an apparent lull in camp hostilities until September 9, when Cerón made legal demand upon his superior to call a conference with his advisers upon two questions, namely, what should be done with the people then in the camp and to come from the interior, and what sort of instructions should be issued to Porras upon his dash to Coosa. The immediate problem was raised by Luna's decision to send a small tender in the port to Velasco with news of his added troubles; his opponents wanted it to carry their reports also, and at the same time take away one hundred incapacitated persons from the camp.¹²¹ This of course would be in furtherance of their determination to quit the country.

The proposal was supposedly justified by the insufficiency of the food supply. There were at the time three hundred and sixty-

¹¹⁸ "The Luna Papers," II. 70. Cf. Dávila Padilla, *op. cit.*, Lib. I., cap. lxix., p. 233.

¹¹⁹ Cf. *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxviii., p. 221.

¹²⁰ "The Luna Papers," II. 72-76.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, II. 92, 96.

two people at the port, not fifty of them effective soldiers. There were an estimated two hundred in Coosa, thirty on the tender and on the *San Juan*, then expected from La Havana, a total, said Cerón, of five hundred, his arithmetic being fairly flexible.¹²² He furthermore notified the governor that if he refused, he as *maestre de campo* and chief justice was ready to take this and succeeding affairs in charge himself, with the advice of the other officers. The leader replied that he had been disregarded in the matter of sending a message to Sauz, for Cerón's conference regarding that matter had been held in the governor's own house without his presence, and that he would have nothing to do with framing instructions for Porras. As to the return of the party in Coosa, the opposition might do as they pleased, but he Luna would have nothing to do with it. As to the tender in the port, it was already licensed to go to New Spain as ordered, and Cerón was admonished to refrain from interfering with it.¹²³

That worthy, in his capacity as guardian of the royal supplies, had already refused to surrender the sails of the tender, they being on shore in the royal house. Hence the vessel could not depart. This action was followed by Luna's fulminating sentences of fines to be imposed upon whomever might prevent the sending of the tender. He also forbade Cerón to do anything of an administrative nature without first consulting him.¹²⁴

Cerón renewed his demand for a conference, and appealed from the fines imposed. Luna persisted in trying to send off the tender without passengers, but allowed the appeal. The royal officials added a verbose threat against their leader, upholding Cerón. The governor persisted in refusal to call a conference in which he knew he would be outvoted; hence Cerón issued a call, saying that if Luna refused to attend he himself would issue appropriate orders.¹²⁵

The mutineers then gathered and wrote a guarded letter to the Coosa party, and Captain Porras was sent off with it on September 9 or 10. Then, as the last resort by which they might

¹²² "The Luna Papers," II. 94. Dávila Padilla says that Cerón not only feared no punishment for his opposition, but expected reward for preventing the deaths of many people by refusing to go to Coosa. He also averred that he would testify Luna was insane because he would not believe the testimony of three hundred witnesses (*Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxix., pp. 223-224).

¹²³ "The Luna Papers," II. 94, 98.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 98.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 100-108, 110, 114.

establish the validity of their action, they followed Cerón to Luna's residence to urge him to discuss the advisability of sending home some of the people of the camp in the tender. The governor reiterated his refusal to participate in such a discussion, threatened the officers with punishment for refusing to go inland with him, and then, becoming undignified in his heat, shouted at them, or rather at Cerón, that he might take his instructions from the gentlemen who came with him and luck attend them, and that as to the tender, they might do as they pleased; he would have nothing to do with them.

The angry speech with its sarcastic renunciation of interest in the business of the moment was duly recorded by the notary, and, it being interpreted as a literal permit to do as they liked, the officers agreed among themselves, as they evidently had done previously concerning the question, and on September 13 the tender was sent to New Spain, bearing a cargo of persons unfit for service.¹²⁶

While this unseemly squabble had been going on, Velasco in Mexico was still straining every nerve to carry the expedition to a successful issue. In vain he tried to send on supplies; the ships were few and provisions scant. Those which had arrived had provided only temporary relief. The exploration of the Santa Elena coast was arranged for by enlisting the energies of the later successful colonizer of La Florida, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, who was then in New Spain as general of the trans-Atlantic fleet of the year. Renewed injunctions were written to Luna not to abandon Ochuse until Santa Elena could be actually occupied. The plan to utilize Coosa as an overland way-station for the Santa Elena occupation was emphasized. The viceroy proposed that Luna be made governor of Cuba to further the conquest, and urged him never to think of returning to New Spain, but to go to La Havana in case he should be obliged to abandon his post temporarily on account of health. His army of occupation was to be strengthened by eliminating the unfit, and they were to be sent home by ships that were being sent. As for personal relations, the leader was instructed to make efforts to get along better with his subordinates; it was suggested that Cerón might, since he complained of being old and infirm, be profitably sent to New Spain to rest and recuperate. The viceroy had heard of an Englishman living in Campeche who had been on the Santa Elena coast with French

¹²⁶ "The Luna Papers," II. 130, 132.

traders; him he was bringing to Mexico to tell his story, and in due season he was to be sent to the coast where he had been, in order that he might assist the Spaniards in establishing trade relations with the Indians.¹²⁷

The month of September, 1560, was a critical one for the expansion project, both in La Florida and at the capital of the viceroyalty. The galleon *San Juan*, which was to have gone from La Havana with food for Luna, had been driven to New Spain instead. On the fifteenth, Velasco received the news that Martín Doz and Biedma had been defeated in their attempt to reach Santa Elena, as already has been told. On the twenty-second Fray Pedro de Feria and his companions reached the capital with their version of how things were going with the expedition. The confidence of the viceroy now began to be shaken, and a plaintive note enters his letters, in which he began to reproach Luna for various errors in execution of the plans. Yet in spite of torrential rains which delayed shipment of supplies to San Juan de Ulúa, heroic efforts were being made to get them off, and plans were laid to send Doz and Biedma again in quest of Santa Elena. Even when on October 2 the viceroy received word from Luna of how he had been flouted by his followers at Ochuse, his loyalty to the discredited leader was firm. Though he averred that he had never been so pained by untoward news, he declared that the conduct of Luna's followers was that of low-spirited persons whom he never would have sent on the expedition had he guessed that they would turn back from the coast without attempting to penetrate the country. Such supplies as were available were rushed on to Ochuse, and the viceregal confidence was expressed afresh. "I am satisfied," wrote Velasco, "that you have done your duty as a gentleman, a Christian, and a faithful servant of his Majesty." The first brunt of viceregal wrath fell upon Captain Pedro de Acuña, who had come to New Spain on the tender bearing the one hundred incapacitated expeditionaries. Acuña was promptly clapped into jail as a "captain who had disobeyed and deserted his general" and given an opportunity to repent having returned.¹²⁸

Of the doings of the colonists at Ochuse after the tender took the one hundred invalids back to New Spain there is scant report. These papers record nothing of the return of the Coosa party, and no legal document, save one, relates any incident of the remaining

¹²⁷ "The Luna Papers," II. 138, 140, 142, 144, 148, 176-178.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, II. 158, 160, 162, 168, 174, 176.

months of dissensions, daily religious processions, and efforts to heal the breach between Luna and his officers of which the Dominican Dávila speaks.¹²⁹ The one document mentioned records the story of a renewal of hostilities between the expeditionaries during early December, when Luna demanded of his officers the register of the tender in which they had sent the invalids home. The royal officials, as well as Captains Téllez and Sotelo and the *maestre de campo* were each in turn required by Luna to surrender the documentary evidence of the persons who had been sent out of the country; none of them had it or could find it, and all of them were contemptuous toward Luna concerning it.¹³⁰ On the day following this puerile altercation, the governor wrote to Velasco a letter (not found in this collection) which was received at the end of the month. Its contents brought the viceroy to a decision. Replying, he said that in view of the bickerings of which Luna had written, of his bad health, of the scant prospect of success remaining for the expedition, and in view of Luna's frequently expressed desire to depart from La Florida, he had sought advice from the judges of the *audiencia* and others, and that they had decided to license Luna to return to Spain or to New Spain as he might choose. In his place as governor was to be sent Ángel de Villafañe. The new official was to go to Ochuse, leave there a small detachment to hold the port, take the rest of the contingent to La Havana where they were to be reinforced with men and supplies from New Spain, and then go on to effect the accomplishment of the royal yearning to see Santa Elena colonized and fortified. To him Luna was ordered to surrender the royal standard and place him in command, as he had sworn in his oath of homage to do. At the same time licenses were sent for the return of Cerón, Velázquez, Pérez, and Cristóbal de Ramírez y Arellano to New Spain, in order that they might testify in an official investigation of the affairs of the expedition. Father Barandalla and other invalids were also to be sent back at the same time.¹³¹ Luna wrote again on the last day of the year, evidently before receiving word of the foregoing arrangements, saying that Velasco would be doing him a great injustice if he did not send him orders to leave La Florida and obtain justice for him in his misfortunes, or else send an *oidor* of the *audiencia* to investigate the situation and punish the guilty. But

¹²⁹ *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxi., lxx., pp. 223-224.

¹³⁰ "The Luna Papers," II. 172.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, I. 10-12.

it is evident from the course of succeeding events that no investigation was held in La Florida. What happened to Luna's opponents in the long lawsuit, these papers do not record. It is of record that Velasco was nettled because of the precipitate return of the Coosa party to the coast, both because their coming increased the hunger at Ochuse and because they had by coming down removed the hope of making an interior establishment which might have been used for his plan of overland communications with Santa Elena.¹³²

The new governor, Villafañe, left New Spain some time after January 30, 1561, on which date Velasco wrote that he was preparing to set sail.¹³³ He did not reach the port of Ochuse until early April; on the ninth day of that month he licensed Luna to go to Spain.¹³⁴ Presumably he did this shortly after his arrival and assumption of the government. On the same day Luna took transcripts of his official documents, and set sail for La Havana and Spain, arriving at his destination before August 20, 1561.¹³⁵

During all the controversy between Luna and his officers the Dominican friars sided with those who were determined to abandon the conquest. From the time the expedition returned to the coast from Nanipacana until he was about to be superseded, the governor refused to call a junta or consultation of his followers, doubtless because in the first place he had stood alone against their united opinions, and later because bad blood had been engendered by the manner in which they had continuously flouted his authority. The refusal to seek or accept advice evidently became the sore point of official contacts, and the friars determined to throw the influence of religion against the governor's stand, in order to bring him to acquiescence in the general determination to desist from the disastrous undertaking. This was done in a dramatic manner. On the seventh day of March, 1561, while mass was being celebrated in the church at Ochuse, Father Anunciación preached a sermon in which he declared that it was the duty of the governor to call a conference of his followers in order to discuss the affairs of the expedition. The sermon being ended, Fathers Anunciación and Salazar approached the governor while he was yet within the church and again urged him to consent to call a meeting for

¹³² "The Luna Papers," I. 12. They reached the coast about the first of November.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, I. 10.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, I. 8.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 2-4.

the purpose indicated. He replied by inviting the friars to accompany him to his house, for he was unwilling, he said, to accede to their request. At this the *maestre de campo* cried out in a loud voice to the officers and soldiers present, inviting them to follow him, for the obstinacy of the governor could no longer be endured.

Thereupon everyone present became much excited; the governor and the friars left the church together, the latter urging Luna to call the meeting and operate harmoniously with the *maestre de campo*, and his partisans, Luna steadfastly refusing. The most of the officers apparently grouped themselves about the *maestre de campo*, and followed, listening. When Cerón heard the governor definitely refuse to accede to the request of the friars, he again challenged the bystanders to espouse his cause, declaring that he would "ask in the name of them all what he had to ask." This vague threat evidently meant that he would, if properly backed, assume to do what everyone wished, throw off the governor's authority, and perhaps desert the country or at least ask the viceroy's permission to do so at once.

When the people all became again excited, the friars and most of the officers turned their backs upon the governor and returned to the church, leaving Luna with a little band of faithful or hesitant ones, among whom were Sauz, Nieto, Don Cristóbal, and de Castilla, with a few lesser officers. If the governor had been a man of decisive character he would have led this little band against his enemies and beaten them into obedience. Instead, he went a little later to evening service to hear the *Salve*. As he was kneeling in prayer, Father Anunciación requested him to leave the church, as the service could not be said in his presence. Finishing his prayer, the governor withdrew, making subsequent inquiry as to whether he was to be excluded from other divine services. He was answered that he was to be so excluded, for the reason that he tenaciously refused to call a conference. So great was the power of religion that the governor's most forcible protest seems to have been to obtain the formally sworn statement of what had happened which appears among the papers which record his misfortunes.¹⁸⁶

The Dominican historian Dávila Padilla has nothing to say concerning the incident. How long the informal excommunication of the governor was intended to last is not recorded, but neither is there any indication that his obstinacy in any whit relented, save

¹⁸⁶ "The Luna Papers," I. 86-90.

that on Palm Sunday he was again in the church, where Father Anunciación first confessed himself and then the governor, in evident preparation for the dramatic reconciliation he was about to effect. Lowery has retold the story from Dávila Padilla, with some apology for the self-evident desire of the Dominican to portray his order as most potent in peace making. As the incident presents a happy contrast to the sordid scenes enacted during the long months of starving and wrangling, it will be appropriate to draw the curtain upon the unhappy picture by reciting the story as Lowery translates it:

"Having reached the place in the service where he was about to consume the most blessed Sacrament, he [Father Anunciación] turned toward the people, with the holy Host in his hands, holding it upright above the paten. All were surprised at the novelty, waiting for what was to follow. The blessed father paused a little while, gazing devoutly at his God, his eyes shedding copious tears. In the midst of his tears, he lifted up his voice with the authority which God knows how to grant to him who serves him, and called by his own name the Governor, who was kneeling in the place to which his rank entitled him. He rose at once and went in front of the altar, where he remained kneeling in expectation of what the blessed priest required of him. Again the blessed father paused a little, as if waiting to receive from God that which he was to say; and it was thus that God spoke through him.

"He said to the Governor, with a celestial grace: 'Do you believe that this, which I hold in my unworthy hands, is the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, Son of the living God, who came from heaven to earth to redeem us all?' The Governor answered, 'Yes, I believe it, sir.' Again the monk said: 'Do you believe that this same Lord is to come to judge the quick and the dead, and that upon the good He will bestow glory, and upon the wicked eternal suffering in hell?' He also answered: 'Yes, sir.' At this second answer the Governor began to fear greatly, and his eyes filled with tears, for of a truth God had touched his heart; then the blessed father said to him: 'If then you believe this, which every faithful Christian must believe, how is it that you are the cause of so many evils and sins, which we have suffered for five months, because you will not reconcile yourself with your captains to treat of a remedy for all this people, who for your sake have perished and are perishing, as I have often warned and implored you? If until now you have not hearkened unto men, listen to the Son of the Virgin, who speaks to you; and fear that same Son of God, who shall judge you. By this Lord, whom I hold here in my hands, I warn, I beseech and I command you, that you now do that which until now you have not wished to do, and if you do it, by command of

the same Lord I promise you succour for all before three days have passed; and if you do it not, chastisement as by His hand.'

"Having thus spoken, he turned to the altar, and having finished the mass, went in and removed the sacred vestments. The Governor rose from the place he had taken at the foot of the altar when the blessed father called him, for he had remained there kneeling up to this point; and turning to the people, he said to them all with feeling and gentleness: 'Gentlemen, you have seen what Fray Domingo has done, and have heard the strange words he spoke to me. I declare that if the fault is on my side, God has never willed that I should follow it, nor be the cause of so many evils. Until now and for the future for the love of God I forgive you all, gentlemen, from the bottom of my heart, and I beg you for the love of God that you forgive me the injuries I have done you and the evil you have suffered for my sake. I know that because of my sins God has chastised you all, and so I ask you all forgiveness as the aggressor and the guilty one.' When he came to these words he could no longer contain his tears, but they burst forth with the intensity of his feeling, serving as ink, that that pardon might remain written and signed.

"Then came the Camp-Master to the feet of the Governor, prostrating himself and begging his forgiveness with many tears. The General also shed tears, acknowledging himself as guilty. Then came the remaining captains, with the feelings and expressions of true love, whose fire had ignited not only the straw, but also the wood, which the devil had already cut from the mountain of mercy. When Father Fray Domingo de la Anunciación related this event, thirty years after its occurrence," concludes the narrator, Fray Agustin Dávila Padilla, historian of the Order in Mexico, "so fresh had he preserved those tears of the General and his captains, that the blessed old man shed them in abundance, giving thanks to God for His mercies, and moving even my heart, when I heard him."¹³⁷

Fortunately for all concerned, the practical test of this touching reconciliation was not too long protracted. Luna's opportunity for good or evil in La Florida had drawn to a close. On Holy Tuesday, two days later, the long delayed Villafañe arrived to assume the government. He brought new soldiers, supplies, and friars, one of whom was that Fray Gregorio de Beteta who had previously visited the coast of La Florida and had written an account of his experiences there. Barcia avers that after Villafañe's arrival the captains held numerous conferences, in which Luna, Sotelo, and Sauz favored going inland again to find a road

¹³⁷ Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements*, pp. 371-373, quoting Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxx.

"by way of New Mexico to New Spain." The others voted to defer this, and their opinions prevailed.¹³⁸ Villafañe went on to the Atlantic in his attempt to occupy Santa Elena; reaching it, he was storm-driven back to La Española, leaving the task of colonization to Menéndez de Avilés.

Concerning the movements of Luna, we know that he was licensed to leave La Florida on April 9, and that before August 20 he had reached Madrid. Villafañe treated his unsuccessful predecessor with the greatest deference, obeying him for a time as governor and calling him "his Lordship." Finally, after the transfer of the governing power had been effected Luna made request of his successor for a frigate in which to go to La Havana. He intended to overtake there the homeward bound galleons under Menéndez de Avilés, and probably did so. Leaving his captains and officers behind at Ochuse, the ex-governor set out with no companions save his servants, happier than he had been for months before, to the surprise of those who had been trying to get rid of him. Luna's attorney had petitioned the king in Toledo to remit the loan of 12,000 pesos made to the governor when he undertook the expedition, and received a reply on April 23 that a decision would be rendered when Luna had presented a report on the accomplishments of his expedition.¹³⁹ It is hardly probable that the deposed governor could have reached Spain by that time.

In spite of the fiasco, Luna pressed his petition before the king. In an undated document he presented a brief report, in which he repeated his declaration that he had done his duty faithfully, but had been thwarted by his subordinates, and asked again for aid in recuperating his spent fortune. In this report he said, "I came to give your Highness an account of everything, and the notary who gave me the copies of my papers has come with me in these ships." The petition was answered by an *auto* referring the matter to one of the secretaries, on August 20, hence Luna must have reached Spain at some time between April 23 and August 20. The answer to the petition was as unsatisfactory as the expedition had been, for on September 9 he received a decree signed by the Licenciado Santander saying that there was no provision whereby his request could be granted. His fortunes were not permanently damaged, however, for he inherited the title of mariscal de Castilla, being the sixth in the line, from his brother Pedro; his chil-

¹³⁸ *Ensayo cronológico*, año de 1561.

¹³⁹ "The Luna Papers," II. 182, 294, 306.

dren were also favored by fortune. The son Carlos, whom he had left in Mexico with Velasco, married into the Mendoza-Velasco connection, as did the daughter Juana. Their descendants were members of the families of the counts of Santiago Calimaya and of the Valle de Orizabe,¹⁴⁰ in Mexico, and in Spain the family continues an important and influential one.

140 R. Ortega y Pérez Gallardo, *Estudios genealógicos*, pp. 102, 130.



LOS PAPELES DE LUNA

**DOCUMENTOS REFERENTES A LA EXPEDICIÓN DE
DON TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO PARA LA
CONQUISTA DE LA FLORIDA EN
1559-1561**

THE LUNA PAPERS

**DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE EXPEDITION OF DON
TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO FOR THE
CONQUEST OF LA FLORIDA IN
1559-1561**

TITULOS DE LOS DOCUMENTOS DEL PRIMER TOMO

I. Expediente sobre los Asuntos de la Florida

Petición de Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano	2
Relación de Tristán de Luna	4
Angel de Villafañe da Liçencia a Don Tristan pã venir a España	8
Velasco a Luna, México, 30 de Enero de 1561	8
Nombramy ^o del Virrey a Don Tristan	14
La Instrucion del Virrey a Don Tristan	18
El Jurame ^{to} y Plito Menaje q̃ hizo Don Tristan	32
La Prouision de la Aud ^a inserta la de su Mag ^d pã Don Tristan	42
Velasco a Luna, Tlascala, 12 de Mayo de 1559	54
Velasco a Luna, México, 25 de Octubre de 1559	56
Velasco a Luna, México, 4 de Octubre de 1560	80
Velasco a Luna, México, 30 de Octubre de 1559	82
Lo q̃ paso en la Iglia al T̃po del Sermon de vn Frayle	86
 Velasco a Luna, México, 5 de Mayo de 1560	90
Velasco a Luna, México, 6 de Mayo de 1560	92
Velasco a Luna, México, 7 de Mayo de 1560	128
Velasco a Luna, México, 11 de Mayo de 1560	130
Los Soldados casados piden los embien a la Nueva España	132
Manda q̃ tengan silencio so pena de traydores q̃ se proueera lo de los Bastimentos	136
 Tornan a insistir los Casados en lo de la Petición pasada y dizen q̃ no tienen a quien se quexar y piden no embie el Vergantin a la Hauana	138
 Los Indios Mexicanos piden vn Nauio pã voluerse	142
Piden los Indios Oficiales vn Nauio pã venirse	144
Declaración hecha por Luna	146
Respuesta de los Oficiales	150
La Respuesta del M ^e de Campo a la Determinación del Gouernador	152
Los Capitanes representan muchos Inconuinientes para yr la t̃fra adentro	158

TITLES OF THE DOCUMENTS IN VOLUME ONE

I. Papers concerning Affairs in Florida

Petition of Tristán de Luna y Arellano	3
Report of Tristán de Luna	5
Ángel de Villafañe gives License to Don Tristán to go to Spain	9
Velasco to Luna, Mexico, January 30, 1561	9
Nomination of Don Tristán by the Viceroy	15
The Instructions of the Viceroy to Don Tristán	19
The Oath and Covenant of Homage made by Don Tristán	33
The Order of the Audiencia enclosing that of his Majesty for Don Tristán	43
Velasco to Luna, Tlascala, May 12, 1559	55
Velasco to Luna, Mexico, October 25, 1559	57
Velasco to Luna, Mexico, October 4, 1560	81
Velasco to Luna, Mexico, October 30, 1559	83
What happened in the Church during a Sermon by a Friar	87
Velasco to Luna, Mexico, May 5, 1560	91
Velasco to Luna, Mexico, May 6, 1560	93
Velasco to Luna, Mexico, May 7, 1560	129
Velasco to Luna, Mexico, May 11, 1560	131
The Married Soldiers ask that they be sent to New Spain	133
He orders them to be silent, under Penalty of being adjudged Traitors, and the Matter of the Provisions will be attended to	137
The Married Soldiers again insist on the Terms of their former Petition, and say that they have no one to whom to make Complaint; and they ask that the Brigantine shall not be sent to La Havana	139
The Mexican Indians ask for a Ship in which to return	143
The Indian Craftsmen ask for a Ship in which to go away	145
Declaration made by Luna	147
Reply of the Officers	151
The Reply of the Maestre de Campo to the Decision of the Governor	153
The Captains represent the many Obstacles to prevent going Inland	159

Otra de vn Particular	166
Otra de vn Alferez y Capitan	170
Requerimi ^o de los Oficiales	170
Acuerdo de bajar a la Baya Filipina	176
Velasco a Luna, México, 2 de Julio de 1560	178
Velasco a Luna, México, 20 de Agosto de 1560	180
Velasco a Luna, México, 3 de Septiembre de 1560	194
Documentos del Proceso entre Luna y sus Sequaces	198
Manda al Escribano q̃ le de un treslado de vn Proçesso	198
 Dize Don Tristan q̃ quiere entrar la tñra adentro	198
Parecer del M ^e de Canpo [27 de Agosto de 1560]	200
Pareçer de los Ofiçiales	204
Pareçer de los Capitanes	212
Manda q̃ se pongan aqui las Cartas	218
Mateo del Sauz a Luna, Apica, 6 de Julio de 1560	218
Fray Domingo de la Anunciación y otros a Luna, Cosa, primero de Agosto de 1560	222
Fray Domingo de la Anunciacion y otros a Velasco, Cosa primero de Agosto de 1560	232
Fray Domingo Salazar a Navarro, Cosa, 31 [?] de Julio de 1560	244
La Jente de su Señoria	246
Notificación que se apresten	248
La Contestación	250
La Contestación de los Oficiales Reales	250
La Repetición del Orden	250
Apelación de los Oficiales Reales	252
Reiteración del Orden	252

TITLES OF THE DOCUMENTS

lxxiii

Another Opinion by a private Person	167
Another [Opinion] from an Ensign and a Captain	171
Request of the Officials	171
Agreement to go down to the Bahía Filipina	177
Velasco to Luna, Mexico, July 2, 1560	179
Velasco to Luna, Mexico, August 20, 1560	181
Velasco to Luna, Mexico, September 3, 1560	195
Documents of the Suit between Luna and his Followers	199
He orders the Clerk to give him a transcript of a Process	199
Don Tristán says he desires to go Inland	199
Opinion of the Maestre de Campo [August 27, 1560]	201
Opinion of the Officials	208
Opinion of the Captains	213
He orders that the Letters be put here	219
Mateo del Sauz to Luna, Apica, July 6, 1560	219
Fray Domingo de la Anunciación and Others to Luna, Coosa, August 1, 1560	223
Fray Domingo de la Anunciación and Others to Velasco, Coosa, August 1, 1560	233
Fray Domingo Salazar to Navarro, Coosa, July 31[?], 1560	245
The People of his Lordship	247
The Notice to get ready	249
The Reply	251
Reply of the Treasury Officials	251
Repetition of the Order	251
The Appeal of the Treasury Officials	253
Reiteration of the Order	253



I

EXPEDIENTE SOBRE LOS ASUNTOS DE LA FLORIDA

FUENTE: Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, España—Simancas. Justicia. Consejo, Distrito de Mexico. Autos entre Partes. Año de 1560 a 1567. Estante 51; Cajón 6; Legajo 10/27, No. 2, R. 1.
[Antes, Patronato, Legajo 44.]

PAPERS CONCERNING AFFAIRS IN FLORIDA

SOURCE: General Archives of the Indies, Seville, Spain—Simancas. Justice. Council, District of Mexico. Actions between Litigants. Years 1560 to 1567. Case 51; Shelf 6; Bundle 10/27, No. 2, Ramo 1.
[Formerly, Patronato, Bundle 44.]

[Cubierta 1ª]

Legº 44. P. Consº 1561

N.E.

†

Consejo

Año de 1561.

D^N TRISTAN DE LUNA, Y ARELLANO: VEZ^{Nº} DE LA CIUD^D
DE GUAXACA. SRE LO ACADECIDO EN LA FLORIDA

Vº

S^{ro} LUYANDO

[Cubierta 2ª—rota en gran parte]

†

†

Consejo

Año de 1561

DON TRISTAN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO SOBRE LO QUE A
ACAESCIDO EN LA FLORIDA.

[Decreto:] al Relator

[Hay una rúbrica.]

Sº LUYANDO

[1 a] [PETICIÓN DE DON TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO]

†

muy pº señor.

lo q pide

Don tristan de luna y arellano vº. de la çudad de guaxaca/Digo
q̃ yo presente çierta petiçion y cartas e ynstruçiones y autos que
pasaron en la Jornada de la florida que hize por mandado del biso
Rey don luis de belasco y se mando entregar Todo Al lic^{do} san-
tander Relator en este rreal consejo y porque por ello constara
yo Auer hecho muy bien mi/offiº y guardado la ynstruçion que se
me dio y el maestre de campo y los demas/offiçiales y soldados
Auerse Aunado contra mi Juntamente con los frayles y no querer/
obedeçer en cosa q̃ yo mandase Antes siempre procuraban y hazian
Todo lo contrario y procuraban de salirse de la dha Jornada y
que no se prosiguiese hasta tanto que por ynformaçiones y Rela-

log pice

muy p. sena.

1

Don Juan de Luna Jarellano v. de la ciudad de Guanaxaca Dijo Yo
presente esta petición y cartas y instrucciones y autos que pasaron
en la jornada de la florida que hizo por mandado del Sr. Rey don Carlos
primer de bellosos y mandando entrar por todo Alfof. de Santander de la
por en este real consejo y por que por ello constara yo Ayer hecho mu-
bien mi ofi. y mandado la instrucion que se medio y el maestro de
campo y los demás oficiales y solistas de Ayer Ayer de contami-
nadamente con los frailes y no que se oír en cosa Yo mandase
Antes siempre procuraban y hacían todo lo contrario y procuraban
de salirse de la dicha jornada y que no se prosiguiera hasta tanto que
por y nformaciones y relaciones falsas que se baron Alfof. de Rey
me esbo Amador que dice miso deus y desechos Angel de Villafra
que se prosiguiera la jornada y no consulten ya me en Adá notici
de todo Alfof. de lo que pido y suplico es que visto y entendido
lo que se oír si yo sido culpado en algo se me ponga a pagar por ello
y hallando que no la tengo no se permita ir de lugar A tan grande y gra-
no como el Sr. Rey me hizo enquirir me la de la nación y por
nada de la florida que por mandado de v. alfof. se me Alfof. de
Yo sea desagraviado y se me hagan ynder. conforme a lo que se
dijo por que se recibe bien y me. y para ello.

Don Juan de Luna Jarellano

FACSIMILE OF THE FIRST PAGE OF "THE LUNA PAPERS" SHOWING LUNA'S PETITION AND SIGNATURE.

[Folder I.]

Bundle 44. Patronato. Council, 1561.

New Spain.

†

Council.

Year 1561.

DON TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO, A RESIDENT OF
THE CITY OF OAXACA, CONCERNING WHAT HAP-
PENED IN LA FLORIDA

Reviewed.

LUYANDO, Secretary.

[Folder II.—*much torn*]

†

†

Council.

Year 1561.

DON TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO CONCERNING
WHAT HAPPENED IN LA FLORIDA

[*Decree:*] To the Relator.[*There is a rubric.*]

Secretary LUYANDO.

[1 r] [PETITION OF TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO]¹

†

Most Potent Lord:

Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, a resident of the City of Oaxaca. I declare: that I presented a certain petition, certain letters, instructions, and *autos*,² transmitted concerning the journey to La Florida made by me under orders from the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, which were all ordered delivered to Licenciado Santander, a *relator*³ in this Royal Council. It is made manifest in these documents that I performed my duty well and obeyed the instructions which were given me; but the *maestre de campo*,⁴ the other officers, and the soldiers joined against me together with the friars, not wishing to obey anything that I commanded, but on the other hand did just the contrary, attempting to give up the journey and prevent it from being carried forward. They even

The Petition.

çiones falsas que enbiaron Al dho biso Rey me enbio A mandar que diese mis poderes y despachos A angel de Villafaña y que el prosiguiese la Jornada y yo con su liçençia me bine A dar noticia De todo A V. al^a/Lo que pido y suplico es que visto y entendido lo suso dho si yo e sido culpado en algo se me ponga culpa por ello y hallando que no la tengo no se permita ni de lugar A tan grande agrabio como el dho biso Rey me hizo en quitarme la gouernaçion y Jornada de la florida que por mandado de V. al^a se me Abia Dado y yo sea desagrabiado y se me hagan mdes. conforme A lo que e seruido porque Reçebire bien y md. y para ello &

Don TRISTAN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

[*Rubricado*]

[1 b] [*En el dorso de la petición se lee:*]

Don tristan de are[*roto: llano.*] S^o/.

[*Decreto:*] ã vista la Inf^{on} se p^overa en todo lo ã convenga/

[*Decreto con otra letra:*] ã esta visto este neg^o y ocurra al Señor doctor vazquez en madrid 20. de agosto 1561. años

SANTANDER.

[*Rubricado*]

[2 a]

[RELACIÓN DE TRISTÁN DE LUNA]

†

C. R. M.

Don Tristan de luna y Arellano estando biudo en la nueva España el Virrey Don Luys de Velasco teniendo notiçia de cierta entrada que yo auia hecho á Çibola me mando en nombre de V. M^d hiziese la jornada de la florida, yo lo accepte y lleue quinientos y cinquenta hombres y ciento y ochenta caballos lleue oficiales de V. M^d y maese de campo y Capitanes y los demas officios ã se requerran para el dño campo. Todos estos cargos proueyo Vño Visorrey,

went so far as to make false reports and accounts which they sent to the viceroy, so that he sent orders for me to give over my powers and papers to Ángel de Villafañe, who was to proceed with the expedition. Then, with [the viceroy's] permission I came to make a report to your Highness concerning everything. What I ask and supplicate is that, when you have seen and understood the aforesaid report, if I am found at fault in anything, I may be given the blame for it; but, if I am not found to have been at fault, that it shall not be permitted that such a great injustice shall be committed as that done by the viceroy in depriving me of the government of La Florida and [command of] the expedition thither which by order of your Highness had been committed to me. I also ask that amends shall be made me and that grants may be made to me corresponding to the services which I have rendered, so that I may receive justice and mercy, wherefore [your petitioner will ever pray] et cetera.

DON TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

[*Rubric*]

[1 v] [*On the back of the petition is found:*]

Don Tristán de Are[torn: llano]. Secretary.

[*Decree:*] After the report is seen, all necessary orders will be given.

[*Decree in another hand:*] This business has been studied, and is being brought to the attention of Doctor Vázquez, Madrid, August 20, 1561.

SANTANDER.

[*Rubric*]

[2 r]

[REPORT OF TRISTÁN DE LUNA]

†

Catholic Royal Majesty:

When I, Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, a widower, was in New Spain, the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, having heard of a certain expedition which I had made to Cíbola,⁵ ordered me in the name of your Majesty to make the expedition to La Florida. I accepted, and took five hundred and fifty men and one hundred and eighty horses. I took your Majesty's officials,⁶ a *maestre de campo*, captains, and all the other officers necessary for such an enterprise. All these positions were filled by your viceroy, and, beside the great

y aliende lo mucho que todos gastamos creo que V. M^d. gasto mas de trecentos mill pesos y con la gente y honçe nauios que se me dieron desembarque/ ochenta /o cient leguas hazia la nueua España mas abaxo que donde desembarco Soto, Tome Vn puerto bueno que llaman el de Polonça y luego Imbie al Sargento mayor y a Dõ christobal mi sobrino con alguna gente los quales me hizieron saber como auia dado en Vna poblacion y que auia algunos bastimentos. y porque a mi me faltauan dexe Vn Capitan con cinquenta / o sesenta hombres en el puerto y con la demas gente me meti por la tierra adentro quarenta /o cinquenta leguas del puerto a donde me estauan aguardando. De alli torne a Imbiar al Sargento mayor y al dño mi Sobrino y a /otros Capitanes y dos frayles Dominicos, y porque de la Instruction que les di tengo aqui el treslado no lo referire. E algunos de los Capitanes y los frayles que digo se dieron tan buena maña con la gente que lleuauan que aunque el Sargento mayor porfio de poblar la tierra como se le tenia mandado no lo quisieron hazer sino venirse ni yo por dos Vias q̃ lo procure de yr adonde ellos estauan tampoco quisieron yr conmigo maestro de campo ni oficiales ni Capitanes sino de dexar la tierra y no estar en ella. porque de todo esto di auiso a V. Visorrey y el me escribio ciertas cartas de las quales y de cierta escriptura que paso alla, Supp^{co} a V. M^d. lo mande ver todo / o remitirlo a Consejo de Indias / o a / otra persona que informe para que V. M^d. prouea lo que mas conuenga porque si yo tengo culpa yo quiero que V. M^d. me mande castigar y si paresciere que /otros la tienen sean castigados conforme a derecho que yo no era mas de Don Tristan de luna y Arellano y que si los tenia a cargo era por la coñission que de V. M^d. tenia, y porq̃ el Visorrey proueyo / otro gouernador y a mi mando que le diese todos los recaudos que tenia de los quales hize sacar Vn treslado y el secretario que me los dio ha venido [2 b] aora en estos nauios a Informar a V. M^d. lo que el Visorrey le mando y del se podra saber si les falta algo a los mismos que yo traygo y ansi desto como de la conquista /o descubrimiento q̃ V. M^d. manda hazer por la mar del Sur como quien lo ha visto y entendido todo de mas de treynta y tres /o treynta y quatro años a esta parte dare auiso de todo

amount which we all spent, I believe that your Majesty must have expended over three hundred thousand pesos [on this expedition]. I disembarked my people from the eleven vessels which were given me, at a point some eighty or one hundred leagues farther down, toward New Spain, than where Soto landed. I took a good port, which they call Polonza. I then sent out the sargento mayor and my nephew Don Cristóbal with a few of the people. They informed me that they had come upon a town in which they had found some supplies. Inasmuch as these were what I lacked, I left a captain with fifty or sixty men at the port, and with the remainder of the force set out inland, penetrating forty or fifty leagues from the port to where they were awaiting me. Thence I again sent out the sargento mayor, my nephew, some other captains, and two Dominican friars; inasmuch as I have here a transcript of the instructions which I gave them I will not repeat them. Certain of the captains and the friars whom I mention availed themselves of such wiles with the people whom they took with them, that although the sargento mayor strove to establish a settlement as he had been ordered, they would not do so, but persisted in returning. Nor could I [reach them] although I attempted to do so at two different times; neither would the *maestre de campo*, the officials, nor the captains go with me, but persisted in leaving the country and would not remain in it. Now, therefore, inasmuch as I made a report of all this to the viceroy, and he wrote me certain letters, I beseech your Majesty to review all these, and certain other writings which were made there, or else send them all to the Council of the Indies or to some one else who shall make a report, in order that your Majesty may order what is most fitting. For if I am to blame, I desire your Majesty to order me punished; but if others are to blame, may they be punished according to law. For I was only Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, and those under my command were so placed by virtue of orders from your Majesty. And because the viceroy appointed another governor, ordering me to turn over to him all the instructions which I held, I had transcripts made of them all, and the secretary who gave them to me has come [2 v] now in these ships to inform your Majesty of what the viceroy commanded him. From him it may be learned whether there may be any lacking among those which I am bringing. I can also give you information concerning the conquest or discovery which your Majesty ordered made in the South Sea, as one who has seen it all for over thirty-three or thirty-four years. Concern-

como basallo y criado de V.^h. y como quien lo ha visto el tpo que digo.

[3 a en blanco]

[3 b] [En el dorso de la relación se lee:]

Yndias. Don tristan de luna y arellano /

[Decreto con otra letra:] ã p^esente lo ã dize y Se bea

[4 a]

†

ANGEL DE VILLAFANE DA LICENCIA A DON TRISTAN PÃ VENIR A
ESPAÑA

Yo angel de Villafañe. gobernador destas prouinçias de la florida y punta d. Santa Elena / por su mag^t por la presente doy licencia al Señor don tristan de luna y harellano gobernador ã a sido destas prou^{as} de la florida. para ã Vaya a los Rey^{os}. de castilla A ynformar a su mag^t de lo sucedido En estas proui^{as} de la florida donde A sido gobernador por q^{to} Es la boluntad del Yll^{mo} Visrrey de la nueba España don luis de belasco ã Vaya y haga la dha Jornada la qual licencia pareze ynbialle El Yll^{mo} Visrrey En un cap^o de Vna carta firmada de su nonbre a que me Refiero. qs fecho En Este pu^{to} de polonza. destas proui^{as} de la florida a nuebe di^{as} del mes de abril de 1561. a^{os}.

ANGEL DE VILLAFANE.

[Rubricado]

Por m^{do} del S^{or} gob^{or}

JHOAN DE BENEGAS.

[Rubricado]

[4 b en blanco]

[5 a] [VELASCO A LUNA, MÉXICO, 30 DE ENERO DE 1561]

†

Yll^e señor

la que V.s. me escriVio con millan ortiz del puerto de apolonça a cinco de diziembre en la carauela de que fue por piloto gonçalo

da licencia por esta
el virrey a don tris-
tan pã venirse a
españa y dize ã
embia a angel de
Villafañe

ing all of this I will give information as a vassal and servant of your Majesty, and as one who has seen it throughout the period of time which I mention.

[3 r blank]

[3 v] [On the back of the relation is found:]

Indies. Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano.

[Decree in another hand:] Let him present what he says, and let it be seen.

[4 r]

†

ÁNGEL DE VILLAFañE GIVES LICENSE TO DON TRISTÁN TO GO TO
SPAIN

I, Ángel de Villafañe, governor of these provinces of La Florida and the Punta de Santa Elena in his Majesty's name: By these presents I grant license to Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, former governor of these provinces of La Florida, to go to the kingdoms of Castile to inform his Majesty concerning what has happened in these provinces of La Florida, where he has been governor, because it is the will of the very illustrious viceroy of New Spain, Don Luis de Velasco, that he should go and make the said journey. It appears that the very illustrious viceroy sends him this license in a chapter of a letter signed with his name, to which I refer. Dated at this port of Polonza, of these provinces of La Florida, on the ninth day of the month of April of the year 1561.

ÁNGEL DE VILLAFañE.

[Rubric]

By order of my lord the governor,

JUAN DE VENEGAS.

[Rubric]

[4 v blank]

[5 r] [VELASCO TO LUNA, MEXICO, JANUARY 30, 1561]

†

Illustrious Sir:

[The letter] which you wrote me by Millán Ortíz from the port of Apolonza [and sent] on December 5 in the caravel of which

Herewith the viceroy gives license to Don Tristán to go to Spain, and says he is sending out Ángel de Villafañe.

gayon, rrescebi en fin de dziembre y Vista la necesidad que significa que ay de bastimentos prouey que la misma carauela fuese a campeche a cargar de maiz y aues y mantas y que lleue alguna carne y otras cosas de san juan de lua porque en la Vera cruz ni en su comarca no se hallo maiz tam presto y si la carauela auia de guardar no partiera en todo hebrero. dios la lleue en saluamento y a tiempo que el bastimento que en ella ua sea de prouecho.

Visto lo que V.s. me escriue y escriuen los rrelijiosos y maese de campo y capitanes y entendidas las diferencias y pasiones y poca conformidad que a aVido y ay entre V.s. y ellos y el poco efecto que se a hecho en la jornada, ni se espera que se hara y lo mucho que su Mag^d. en ella a gastado. considerado esto y la poca salud que V.s. a tenido y la Voluntad que significa en alguna de sus cartas de salir de esa tierra me a parescido aViendolo comunicado con esta rreal audiencia y con el señor arçobispo y oficiales de su Mag^d. y algunos otros caualleros y personas prinçipales de embiar liçençia a V.s. para q̃ pueda hazer la jornada de españa a dar cuenta a su Mag^d. de lo sucedido o Venirse a esta tierra, para que escoja lo que mejor le paresciere, y en su lugar embio a Angel de Villafañe para que prouea lo que le paresciere conuenir al seruicio de dios nño Señor y de su Mag^d. y que dexando la jente que le paresciere para guarda de ese puerto y para compañía de los rrelijiosos que alli an de quedar y para que esa puerta no se çierre para poder proueer por ella bastimentos y ganados saque la demas jente a la hauana para que juntandose alli con la que mas ua de esta nueva España y con los nauios y bastimentos que se embian, Vaya a la punta de santa Elena a tomar y poblar puerto alli o cerca de ella, como su Mag^d. lo manda V.s. le entregara el estandarte rreal y encargara a la jente que le obedezcan y hagan lo que les ordenare.

tambien lleua liçençia para que se uengan a sus casas el maestre de campo y el tesorero y contador y para don cristoual de arellano por ser casados en esta tierra y estar en esa de mala gana. Venidos que sean se entendera, en aVeriguar la desobediencia que

Gonzalo Gayón was pilot, I received at the end of December. In view of the necessity of provisions which it sets forth, I ordered that the same caravel should go to Campeche to take on a cargo of corn, fowl, and blankets, and that it should take some meat and other things from San Juan de Ulúa; for there was not found in Vera Cruz or its environs any corn that was ripe enough, and if the caravel were to wait for it, it could not set sail before the end of February. May God bring it safely and in time so that the supplies which it carries may be of service.

In view of what you and the religious, the *maestre de campo*, and the captains write me, and understanding the dissensions, passions, and lack of conformity which have existed and still prevail between you and them, the little accomplishment effected by the expedition or to be expected from it, and the great amount which his Majesty has spent upon it; considering all this, and also the lack of health which you have experienced, and the desire which you express in one of your letters to get out of that country, it has seemed wise to me, after laying the case before this royal *audiencia*,⁷ the archbishop, the officials of his Majesty, and certain other gentlemen and principal persons, to send you license to make the journey to Spain to give account to his Majesty of what has happened, or to come to this country to choose whatever may seem best to you. In your place I am sending Ángel de Villafañe, that he may order whatever may seem to him most conducive to the service of God Our Lord and of his Majesty. [He is to] leave as many people at that port as he sees fit, to guard it and to serve as companions for the religious who are to remain there, and to keep the port from being closed in order that it may be possible to keep it supplied with food and cattle; he is to take the remainder of the people away to La Havana, where they are to join the others who go from this New Spain; and with the ships and supplies which are being sent he is to go to the Punta de Santa Elena, occupy it, and make a settlement at the port there or near there, as his Majesty commands. You will deliver to him the royal standard and enjoin the people to obey him and do what he orders them to do.

He also carries licenses to permit the return to their homes of the *maestre de campo*, the treasurer, the accountant, and Don Cristóbal de Arellano, inasmuch as they have wives in this country and their stay in that one is against their will. When they have returned, an investigation of their disobedience to you shall be

a. V.s. an tenido y oTras cosas que dellas se agrauia para que se haga en el caso justiçia.

tambien lleua licençia para el padre barandalla y para los que notablemente estuVieren enfermos podranse uenir en el nauio que lleua señalado para ello. y porque ay priesa en el despacho de anjel de Villafañe porque llegue con tiempo y me falta para rresponder em particular a todo lo que V.s. me escriue. soy breue en esta.

La que me escriuió con un Soldado que se dize guerra en treinta y uno de diziembre rrescebi en Veinte de Enero y a ella ay poco que rresponder mas de lo que digo en esta y fue gran Ventura aportar aca el batel creo hiziera mas prouecho en ese puerto que en la costa de Panuco donde dieron con el al traues los que en el Venian. En la que me dio guerra dize [5 b] V.s. que le hare muy grande agrauio en no sacarle de esa tierra haziendole justicia, y poniendo ay otra persona que lo mande y gouierne, o embiar un oydor o persona que lleue mi poder para que sepa en que a agraiado a la jente y la jente a V.s. y lo rremedie y castigue, esto a parescido no conuenir por algunos rrespectos, y que pues los principales que an dado dessabrimiento a V.s. y sido en contradezirle an de uenir por aca, q̃ aca se hara mejor la aVeriguacion y se castigara lo que conuenga. y los que alla quedaren conque siruan a su Mag^d. se enmendara lo pasado.

Ropa camisas y calçado y bastimento se lleua lo que se a podido rrecojer lleua cargo anjel de Villafañe de proueer a los que salieren a la punta de sancta Elena y a los que quedaren en ese puerto, y no a los que uVieren de Venir a esta tierra.

No sabia dezir la pena que e rrescebido de saber que se oViesen Venido a ese puerto la jente que subio a la prouincia de Coça y ya que se determinaran a salir de ella por no parescerles buena tierra para poblar, pues tenian comida deVieran de aguardar a saber que ouiese comida en el puerto y nauios en que salir del y no uenir aVenturados a perescer ay de hambre, porque si un

made and of other matters wherein you consider yourself aggrieved, in order that justice may be done in the case.

He also carries license for Father Barandalla⁸ and those who were especially ill to return in the ship which he is taking for that purpose. And inasmuch as haste must be made in getting Ángel de Villafañe off, so that he may arrive in time, and I have no opportunity to reply in detail to all concerning which you write me, I am being brief in this letter.

The one which you wrote me on December 31, [and sent] by a soldier called Guerra, I received on January 20; there is little in it to which to reply beyond what I am saying in this letter. It was great good fortune that brought his bateau to port here; I believe that it would be of more service in that port [of yours] than on the Pánuco coast, where those who came in it went aground.

You say in the letter which Guerra gave me [5 v] that I shall be doing you a very great injury by not bringing you out of that country and doing you justice, placing there some other person to command and govern it, or sending thither an *oidor*⁹ or some one else clothed with my powers to ascertain in what respects you have injured the people or they you, and to find a remedy for the situation and punish [the guilty]. This does not seem fitting in certain respects, for, inasmuch as the principal persons who have shown rudeness toward you and have disobeyed you will have to come here, the investigation can best be made here, suitable punishment may be better imposed, and those who remain there, provided they serve his Majesty, may make amends for the past.

Clothing, shirts, shoes, and provisions are being taken thither in such quantities as it has been possible to collect them. Ángel de Villafañe has orders to supply [them] to those going to the Punta de Santa Elena and to those remaining at your port, but not to those who are to come to this country.

I cannot express the disappointment I felt upon learning that the people who went up to the province of Coosa had returned to your port, and that they had decided to leave the province because it did not seem to them a good land in which to settle; for since they had victuals they should have waited to ascertain whether or not there were provisions in the port and ships in which to set sail from there, instead of coming at the hazard of perishing there from hunger. For in case one of the ships which

naVio de los que se an despachado se perdiese o faltase esta entendido que se auia de pasar gran trabajo y necesidad. los bastimentos que lleuo la carauela fue con yntento que tuViesen V.s. y los que con el estauan en el puerto bastimento para seis meses en el entretanto que los que estauan la tierra adentro buscauan sitio y lugar conVeniente para poblar, y Vian bien la tierra y aVisauan de lo que uViesen Visto y sino les contentara tiempo tenian para baxarse al puerto y no hazerlo tan supito y tan ynconsideradamente que auenturasen a perderlo todo. ya el mal recaudo es hecho plega a dios nño señor que no sea causa de que aya sucedido otro peor. y porque con Anjel de Villafañe E comunicado lo que a V s. conViene, no dire mas de que guarde y prospere nño Señor su Ill^e. persona de Mexico a 30. de Enero 1561.

a servycyo de V.S.

Don LUYs DE VE^{co}.

[*Rubricado*]

[6 a en blanco]

[6 b]

†

[*Dirección:*] Al Ill^e. Señor Don tristan de luna [*roto:* y are-]
llano En la florida

Virrey [*Hay un sello estampado sobre cera.*]

[*Endosado:*] del biRey bista [?] despach^a en o [*tachado:* tra?] en q̃ enbya lyzēzya a don trystan.

V [*Decreto:*] al R^{or} [*rubricado*]

[7 a] NOMBAMY^o DEL VIRREY A DON TRISTAN

†

V Este Es Vn treslado Vien e fielmente sacado de un nombrami^o. fecho en don tristan de luna y harellano por el Yll^{mo} señor Visorrey de la nueba españa don luis de belasco. por el q^{al} pareze. nonbralle por gobernador de las prouias de la florida Como mas largamente, por el dño nombrami^o. pareze A que me Refiero. firmado del Yll^{mo} Visorrey don luis de belasco y rrefrendado de ant^o de turçios secr^o del audi^a R^{al} y gobernacion de la nueba españa su thenor del q^{al} de berbun ad berbun es este q̃ se sigue.

V En la çiudad de mex^{co} treinta dias del mes de otubre Año del

have been sent thither should be lost or fail [to arrive], it is easy to see that they would have to endure great hardship and necessity. The supplies carried by the caravel were sent with the intention that you and those who were with it in the port should have a sufficiency of them for six months, during which interval those who had gone inland would search out a place and site suitable for making a settlement, examine the country well, and report on what they had seen. If it seemed to them unsatisfactory, they had ample time to go down to the port without doing so in such a sudden and inconsiderate manner that they risked the hazard of ruining everything. But now that the unfortunate step is taken, may God our Lord forbid that it cause another worse one to follow. Inasmuch as I have communicated to you through Ángel de Villafañe all that may be to your advantage, I will say nothing further except [to wish that] our Lord may guard and prosper your illustrious person. Mexico, January 30, 1561.

At your Lordship's¹⁰ service,

DON LUIS DE VELASCO.

[*Rubric*]

[6 r blank]

[6 v]

†

[*Addressed:*] To the illustrious Don Tristán de Luna [*torn: y Arellano*] in La Florida.

The viceroy. [*There is a seal stamped on wax.*]

[*Indorsed:*] From the viceroy. Seen [?] Despatched in [*blotted: another?*] in which he sends license to Don Tristán.

[*Decree:*] To the *Relator*. [*Rubric*]

[7 r] NOMINATION OF DON TRISTÁN BY THE VICEROY

†

This is a transcript, truly and faithfully copied, of a nomination made in favor of Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano by the most illustrious viceroy of New Spain, Don Luis de Velasco, wherein it appears that he nominates Luna governor of the provinces of La Florida, as is shown at greater length in the said nomination, to which I refer. It is signed by the most illustrious viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, and countersigned by Antonio de Turcios,¹¹ secretary of the royal audiencia and government of New Spain; its tenor is word for word as follows:

In the City of Mexico, the thirtieth day of the month of October,

naçimiº de nro señor ihũ Xpo de mil y quinientos e çinqta y ocho años El Yllmo. señor don luis de Velasco VisoRey e gobernador e cap^{tan} g^{al} por su mag^t. en esta nueba españa dixo q̃ por q^{to} Su mag^t. le encarga e manda por Vn capitulo de carta A su señoria escrita fecha en Vallid A ueinte y nueve de diçienbre de mill y quinientos y çinqta y siete q̃ porq̃ la poblaçion que se a de ynbiar ha hazer a la proui^a de la florida y punta de Santa Elena se haga mejor y se guarde en todo lo q̃l probeyere e las yntruïçiones e prouisiones q̃ se dieren nonbre por gobernador de la Xente q̃ ynbiare a poblar una persona qual a el le pareçiere conbenir q̃ sea temeroso de dios y zeloso de su R^{al}. seruiº que los gouierne por tanto que en cunplim^{to} de lo suso dño. nonbraba y nonbro por gobernador de la dña Jente y proui^{as}. asta tanto q̃ su mag^t. sea seruido de probeer otra cosa A don tristan de luna y harellano por ser como es Cauallero hijodalgo y celoso del seruiº. de dios nro señor y de su mag^t. y concurrir en el las calidades q̃ se Requieren de lo q^{al} se le de titulo y prouision en forma y su señoria firmo Este nonbramiº.

Don LUIS DE VELASCO.

paso ante mi

ANTONIO DE TURÇIOS.

qs. fecho y sacado corregido y conçertado Con el dño oreginal en nueve dias del mes de abril de mill y quºs y sesenta y vn aºs en este pu^{to} de polonza destas proui^{as} de la florida. Siendo presentes por tºs a lo ber sacar corregir y conçertar con el dño /oreginal Sancho Velez y Juº docampo y fauian de loria. En fee de lo qual yo Juº de uargas esnº [7 b] de este Exerçito de su m^t. nonbrado por el yll^e S^{or} angel de billafaña goV^{or}. destas probinçias de la florida lo hize sacar y saque por m^{do}. del dho Señor gov^{or} segund y como en ello se contiene e por ende lo firme de mi nonbre que es a tal en testimonio de Verdad

JHOAN DE VARGAS

esnº. nombra^{do}.

[*Rubricado*]

[8 a y 8 b, en blanco]

in the year of the birth of our Lord Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and fifty-eight. The most illustrious Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy, governor, and captain-general for his Majesty in this New Spain, said: that inasmuch as his Majesty charges and commands him in a chapter of a letter to his Lordship written and dated in Valladolid on December 29, 1557, [saying to him] that, to the end that the settlement which is to be made in the province of La Florida and the Punta de Santa Elena may be made in the best manner, and to the end that all his commands may be obeyed and the instructions and orders which may be given may be observed, he shall name for governor of the people who are sent to colonize, a person who seems to him suitable for the purpose—one who fears God and is zealous for his royal service—to govern them; he, therefore, in compliance with the foregoing was naming and did name as governor of the said people and provinces until such time as his Majesty might be pleased to order otherwise, Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano. For he is a gentleman, an hidalgo, zealous in the service of God our Lord and of his Majesty, and in him are combined the qualities which are required. Of this let him be given title and order in form. And his Lordship signed this nomination.

DON LUIS DE VELASCO.

Done before me,

ANTONIO DE TURCIOS.

It is dated, copied, corrected, and compared with the said original on the ninth day of the month of April of the year 1561, in this port of Polonza of these provinces of La Florida. Present as witnesses to see the copy made, corrected, and compared with the said original were Sancho Vélez, Juan de Ocampo, and Fabián de Loria. In witness whereof I, Juan de Vargas, notary [7 v] of this army for his Majesty, named by the illustrious señor Ángel de Villafañe, governor of these provinces of La Florida, [swear that] I had it made and made it by command of the said governor according to and in conformity with its contents, and finally I signed it with my name which is as [here appears] in witness of the truth.

JUAN DE VARGAS,

Notary appointed.

[*Rubric*]

[8 r and 8 v blank]

[9 a]

†

LA INSTRUCCIÓN DEL VIRREY A DON TRISTAN

Este es Vn treslado. bien y fiel^{te}. sacado de una ynstruición y ordenanças ql. Yll^{mo} Viso Rey de la nueva españa y los señores oidores de la audi^a R^{al}. q̃ en ella Residen por su mag^t licen^{do} de çorita. dotor brabo. El dotor billalobos. dieron para q̃ guardase y cunpliese don tristan de luna y harellano gobernador. nonbrado de las p^oVincias de la florida su tenor de las dñas ynstruiciones y ordenanças son estas q̃ se siguen.

Nos El Virrey presidente E oydores del haudi^a R^{al} de la nueva España hazemos sauer a uos los alldes y rregidores y los demas ofiçiales de los cauildos y ministros de justiçia Vezinos y moradores de todos y qualesquier pueblos q̃ se poblaren En la florida y p^obinçias della y en la punta de Santa Elena Como en Vna çedula de la mag^t. del Rey Don felipe N.S. fecha en Vallid. A beinte y nueve de diçienbre de mill y qui^os y cinq^{ta}. y siete Años dirigida a mi el Virrey. ay vn capitulo del thenor siguiente.

Probeer se an Justiçia y rregidores y clerigos y Religiosos y ha cada uno dareis ynstruición de las preminençias E cargos q̃ ha de tener de manera que sepan lo que an de hazer y q̃ de las desordenes y heçesos q̃ la gente cometierte Asi contra los yndios como Ellos entre si an de ser obligados los q̃ los tubieren a cargo de dar quenta.

V^r por El q^{al} capitulo Como por el pareçe Su mag^t. manda q̃ se os de ynstruición de las preeminençias y cargos que habeis de thener de manera q̃ sepais lo que habeis de hazer y en cunplimiento de lo por su mag^t en el probeido y mandado Abiendolo tratado y comunicado Con esta R^{al} audiençia os mandamos q̃. guardéis cunplais la ynstruición siguiente.

Los of^{es} de la rr^{al}
hazienda nonbran
por rregidores.

Primeram^{te}. nonbramos por Regidores de la çiudad Villa o lugar adonde rresidieren a los of^{es} [9 b] de la R^{al}. hazienda de su mag^t. y os mandamos q̃ los ayais y tengais por tales guardandoles en todo sus preminençias. Y como Regidores mas Antiguos se an de preferir a los demas En los autos y ayuntamientos publicos p^o-cesiones y rreçiuimientos despues del gobernador y sus Tenientes

[9 r]

†

THE INSTRUCTIONS OF THE VICEROY TO DON TRISTÁN

This is a transcript, well and faithfully made, of certain instructions and ordinances which the most illustrious viceroy of New Spain and the judges of the royal audiencia who reside therein for his Majesty, Licenciado de Zurita, Doctor Bravo, and Doctor Villalobos, issued to be kept and complied with by Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor-elect of the provinces of La Florida. The tenor of the said instructions and ordinances is as follows:

We the viceroy-president and the judges of the royal audiencia of New Spain make known to you, the municipal judges and councilmen, the other officers of the councils, the ministers of justice, and the settlers and inhabitants of all and whatever towns which may be settled in La Florida and the provinces thereof and in the Punta de Santa Elena, that in a cedula by his Majesty the king, Don Felipe our lord, dated at Valladolid, December 29, 1557, directed to me, the viceroy, there is a chapter the tenor of which is as follows:

There shall be appointed officers of justice, councilmen, clerics, and religious; and to each of them you shall give instructions concerning the preëminences and duties they are to have, so that they shall know what they will have to do, and that those who have such offices in charge shall know that they have the obligation to give account of any excesses which the people may commit, either against the Indians or against each other.

As appears in the chapter mentioned, his Majesty orders that you be given instructions concerning the preëminences and duties which you are to have, so that you may know what you have to do. Therefore, in fulfilment of his Majesty's provision and command, having discussed it and consulted concerning it with this royal audiencia, we command you to keep and fulfil the following instructions:¹²

First: we name as councilmen of the city, *villa*, or town wherein they reside, the officials [9 v] of the royal treasury of his Majesty, and we order you to receive and accept them as such, preserving for them their preëminence in everything. As the ranking councilmen, they are to be preferred above the others in official documents, in meetings of the town councils, and in public processions and receptions, just after the governor, his lieutenants, and

The officials of the royal treasury are named as councilmen.

que horden an de
thener en el asiento
y botar.

y halldes ordinarios y en esto y en los asientos y botar En el cabildo ha de ser el prim^o El tesorero y el seg^o el contador y el tr^o El fator y los demas Regidores por su /orden segun el anti- guedad de cada Vno En el ofiçio y lo abeis de señalar y declarar En las elecciones q̄ hizieredes para que segun la / orden como los non- braredes la guarden Ellos en el asiento y botar./

A de nonbrar El V
gouernador Regi-
dores y halldes en
los pu^{os} q̄ poblare
el primer año.

El primero año en poblandose q^alquier pueblo despañoles. ha de nonbrar El gouernador alldes y rregidores y los demas ofiçiales de cabildo y ministros de Justiçia los q^ales sirban sus of^{os}. segun y como El dho gouernador los nonbrare lo q̄ q̄dare de aquel año En que se hiziere el tal nonbrami^o y todos los abed y obedeçed por tales y desde agora los abemos por nonbrados.

Elección de alldes V
y Regidores y otros
of^{es} de cabildo.

Los demas a^{os}. En cada Vn dia de año nuebo los Regidores de cada Vn pu^o an de nonbrar alldes y rregidores y los demas of^{es} de cauildo y ministros de Justiçia y los que ellos nonbraren los obedeçed y tened por tales y desde agora los abemos por non- brados.

Son q̄ se elixieren V
sean Vz^{os}

Las personas q̄ Vos los dhos Regidores nonbraredes para lo q̄ dho es an de ser Vezinos del tal pu^o y de los mas onrrados Ricos y habonados y se haga la eleçion libremente sin parçialidad ning^a prefiriendo a los que mas sufiçientes fueren para ello. y habiendo casados y siendo auiles y sufiçientes los preferan a los solteros.

q̄ acebten. V los q̄ fueren eleixidos por alldes. y rregidores y ha los [10 a]
Demas ofiçios sino los quisieren açetar los compelan y hapremien A ello poniendoles pena sino tubieren Justa causa para se escusar.

Juramento q̄ han V
de hazer

Antes que sean Reçiuidos al of^o En q̄ cada Vno fuere nonbrado a de Jurar q̄ Vien E fielmente lo usara y mirara por el pro y hutili- dad de la Repu^{ca} y q̄ guardara secreto de lo que en su ayuntami^{to} se tratare y q̄ obdezera y cunplira las cartas Cedula y p^obisiones de su mag^t y lo q̄ tocara A su rr^{al} serui^o El q^al Juramento an de tomar los Regidores q̄ cunplieren por ante el escribano de cauildo y se asiente Asi por auto. y para esto y para las demas Cosas de cauildo tengan Vn libro grande blanco En q̄ se asiente y escriba lo que se acordare y p^obeyere por El cauildo/.

the ordinary justices. In these affairs, and in the position of their seats, and in their order in voting in the meetings of the council, first shall come the treasurer, second the accountant, third the factor, and then the other councilmen according to the term of service of each in the office. And you shall indicate and declare this order in the elections which you may hold, so that they shall preserve it in their sitting and voting.

The order they must keep in sitting and in voting.

The first year, when any town of Spaniards is settled, the governor shall appoint justices and councilmen, the other officers of the council, and ministers of justice, to serve in these positions in accordance with his appointments, for the remainder of the year, and they shall all be held and obeyed as such, and from this time forth we consider them as appointed.

The governor shall appoint *regidores* and *alcaldes* for the first year in towns settled.

In subsequent years the councilmen of each town shall on the first day of each new year name justices, councilmen, the other officers of the council, and ministers of justice, and those whom they name shall be held and obeyed as such, and from this time forth we consider them as appointed.

Election of justices, councilmen, and other officers of the council.

The persons whom you the councilmen shall name for the above-mentioned offices must be settlers of the town concerned; they must be the most honorable, the richest and the most capable, and the election shall be freely conducted with no partiality whatever; those who are the most suitable shall be preferred, and if married men are the most capable and suitable they shall be preferred to single men.

Those selected must be settlers.

Those who are elected as justices and councilmen and [10 r] to other offices shall, if they do not desire to accept them, be urged and compelled to do so by imposition of a fine upon them unless they have just reason for being excused.

They must accept.

Before they are received in the offices to which they have been severally elected, they must take oath that they will well and faithfully discharge them, looking out for the welfare and advancement of the republic, that they will keep secret the business transacted in council meetings, and that they will obey and comply with the letters, cédulas, and orders of his Majesty in all that concerns his royal service. This oath the councilmen must in the presence of the clerk of the council swear to fulfil, and [the record thereof] shall be written down in the form of an *auto*. For this purpose, and for the other transactions of the council, they shall keep a large blank book, in which shall be set down and written all that is voted and ordered by the council.

Oath which they must take.

- q no se ausenten
sin licencia V AViendo acebtado los ofiçios a que fueren Elexidos Ning^o se
ausente sin licencia y si lo hiziere los demas le penen Por ello.
- q tengan casa de
cauildo. V Aveis de thener Casa señalada adonde hagais Vro cauildo y hayun-
tami^o y p^ocurad de la hazer con toda brebedad y ha de ser En la
plaça pu^{ca} y prinçipal.
- q hagan cauildo. V han de hazer dos dias en la semana cauildo y señalar dia y hora
para ello.
- q tengan portero. V Aueis de thener portero para que os aperciba y llame y sois obli-
gados a benir y ha los que no binieren los demas los penen sino
tubieren Justa causa para se escusar.
- que los compelan A V puedelos compeler a ello El gobernador y sus tinientes y los alldes.
que bengan a
cauildo. ordinarios y ponerles pena y llebarsela y los q Vinieren podran
hazer El cauildo sin los q faltaren.
- quien ha de estar y [10 b] V En cauildo no an de estar otras personas m^{as} q los Regi-
botar en cauildo. dores y el gobernador O su teniente y los alldes ordinarios / y el
gouernador o teniente y halldes no tienen boto los q^{ales} dexe-
libremente botar a los Regidores/.
- que no se prometan V Los Regidores no se den palabra Vnos A otros. ni a otra persona
los botos vnos a
otros. y boten
libremente. alguna no se prometan los botos sino q Cada uno librem^{te}. bote y
no se admita El boto del que no se hallare presente.
- que se cunpla y V que se cunpla y execute lo q la mior parte hiziere sino fuere En
execute lo q la
mior parte deter-
minare. cosas voluntarias o de graçia por q En estos casos se rrequiere q
todos sean conformes. y si en las otras cosas Ubiere botos yguales
podra El Juez conformarse con la parte que le pareçiere y haquello
se ha de cunplir y executar y si todabia obiere ygualdad Se ocurra
Al gobernador o su Teniente El que mas cerca estubiere.
- que nonbren cada V Ase de nonbrar en cada Vn año Vno de los rregidores Por p^oCura-
un año proCurador
general y miordo-
mos. dor general para que mire y defienda las cosas de la Repu^{ca} y se
le Tome sobre ello Juram^{to} y miordomos para q cobren y tengan
quenta de los propios y rrentas.
- Diputados. V Anse de nonbrar cada mes o de dos a dos / o por mas tpo si pare-
çiere q Conbiene diputados o/sean de Entre los Regidores por
rrueda començando por El mas antiguo. y no hagan Condenaçion
alguna sin la Justiçia.

They having accepted the offices to which they have been elected, no one of them may absent himself without permission, and if one of them does so the rest shall fine him for so doing.

You must have a house set apart for the meetings of your council and town meeting; it shall be built as soon as possible, and must be situated in the principal and public plaza.

You must hold meetings on two days in every week, and appoint fixed days and hours therefor.

You must have a porter to notify you and call you, and you shall be obliged to attend; those who do not do so shall be fined by the rest if they do not have just cause to be excused.

The governor, his lieutenants, and the ordinary justices may compel them to do so and fine them and take the fines from them, and those who shall attend may conduct the council meeting without those who may be absent.

[10 v] There shall be no other persons present in the council meeting save the councilmen, the governor or his lieutenant, and the ordinary justices. Neither the governor, his lieutenant, nor the justices shall have a vote, and they shall allow the councilmen to vote freely.

The councilmen shall not promise each other nor any other person to give their votes but each one shall vote freely; no vote of an absent person shall be admitted.

The vote of the majority shall be complied with and executed unless it be in voluntary affairs or of grace, for in these matters it is required that all shall be in agreement. If there is an equal number of votes in other affairs the judge may conform with whichever party seems best to him, and the agreement reached shall be complied with and executed. And if there is still an equal division recourse shall be had to the governor or his lieutenant, whichever may be nearest.

Every year one of the councilmen shall be appointed procurator-general, in order that he may attend to and defend the affairs of the republic. For this purpose he shall take an oath. Majordomos shall also be appointed to collect and keep account of the town resources and revenues.

Every month, every two months, or at longer intervals, if it seems advisable, deputies shall be nominated from among the councilmen in turn, beginning with the ranking member. They shall make no condemnation whatever without the intervention of justice.

They may not absent themselves without permission.

They must have a house for the council.

They must have meetings.

They must have a porter.

They shall compel them to attend council meetings.

Who may be present and vote in the council meeting.

They shall not promise their votes to each other and they shall vote freely.

The vote of the majority shall be complied with and executed.

They shall appoint each year a procurator-general and majordomos.

Deputies.

- fiel executor. V Cada año se a de nonbrar fiel executor para hazer y cunplir las ordenanças preçios y posturas y para hazer p^obeer la rrepu^{ca} de las cosas necesarias y Requerillas y mirallas y los pesos y medidas y pueda condenar y executar las penas en q̃ En [11 a] Currieren y haya Prebençion Entre El y los diputados/.
- que se salgan del ca Vildo quando se tratare algo q̃ les toque. V quando en cauildo se tratare Alguna Cosa q̃ toque a alg^o de los que en el estubieren se salga fuera y no se halle presente al botar y determinacion dello y la Justicia lo compela A que asi lo haga./
- Archibo. V ha de hauer archibo y caxa en el cauildo Adonde Esten los prebillegios sentençias y escrituras y otras cosas tocantes al conçejo y libro En q̃ lo asienten y tengan en ella las partidas leyes y prematicas del Rey^o.
- q̃ no hagan Repartimiento ni derrama. V No se ha de hazer Repartimiento alg^o Ni echar ni consentir q̃ se heche Derrama aunque sea para cosas muy necesarias sin licençia de su mag^t. sino fuere asta en contia de doçientos p^os de oro y no lleben dello ni de los propios para si cosa alguna.
- Propios. V Ase de p^oCurar de aplicar para propios de la rrepu^{ca}. solares mesones tiendas y heredades y otras cosas y de que aya exidos y deesas de conçejo y pastos para los ganados.
- que no enagenen ni Repartan las cosas del comun. V No se a de henaxenar ni Repartir ni consentir q̃ se enagene ni Reparta Entre los del cauildo ni otras personas las plaças y exidos ni las demas cosas pu^{cas} y del Comun.
- q^{ta} y rrazon y libro de los propios y rrentas. V Ase de thener quenta y rraçon En que se gastan las Rentas y p^o-prios de la rrepu^{ca} y libro en q̃ se escriba y hasiente.
- Como Se an de arrendar los propios y ha quien. V quando Se arrendaren los propios y rrentas del conçejo ha de ser en almoneda pu^{ca}mente y hande nuebe di^{as} en pregon y no lo arrienden [11 b] Para si los del cauildo por ellos ni por ynterpositas personas ni se rremate En personas poderosas ni eclesias-ticas sino en personas llanas y habonadas y con fianças.
- que se tome q^{ta} dellos. V Ase de tomar q^{ta} de las Rentas y propios del conçejo y executar por los alcançes y esto lo an de hazer los alldes y rregidores luego q̃ fueren R^{dos} a sus ofiçios.

Every year there shall be appointed a judge of weights and measures who shall draw up and cause to be complied with ordinances for fixing prices, making bids, and for the purpose of providing the republic with necessary things and examining and caring for weights and measures. He may levy and [11 r] collect the fines which may be imposed. And there shall be coöperation between him and the deputies.

Judge of weights and measures.

Whenever the council treats of any affair which concerns any one of those who may be in attendance, he shall go out and shall not be present at the taking of the vote and the decision thereof, and the justice shall compel him to do so.

They shall excuse themselves from the council meeting whenever any matter is treated which concerns them.

There shall be an archive and box in the council-house, in which shall be kept the privileges, sentences, writings, and other things concerning the council, and a book in which shall be set down and preserved the orders, laws, and pragmatics of the kingdom.

Archives.

There shall be no levy nor shall they make or consent to the making of any assessment although for very necessary things, without license of his Majesty, except up to the sum of 200 *pesos de oro*,¹³ and they shall not take from such assessment nor from the resources anything for themselves.

There shall be no levy or assessment.

There shall be utilized for property of the republic house lots, inns, shops, inheritances, and other things. [And they shall see] that there shall be communal lands and pastures of the town and grazing fields for the flocks.

Municipal property.

They shall not alienate or subdivide nor shall they consent to the alienation or subdivision amongst the members of the council or other persons, of the plazas, communal lands, or other public possessions of the commune.

They shall not alienate or subdivide the possessions of the commune.

An account shall be kept of the expenditures of the revenues and property of the republic, in a book in which these shall be written and set down.

Accounting and the book of resources and revenues.

When the property and revenues of the town are to be leased it is to be done at public auction after nine days' notice, and the members of the council [11 v] shall not lease them to themselves directly nor by intervention of other parties; nor shall they be awarded to powerful persons nor ecclesiastics, but to reputable well-to-do persons, and to them under bond.

How the property is to be leased and to whom.

Account shall be kept of the revenues and the resources of the town, and the balances thereof shall be ascertained; this is to be done by the justices and councilmen as soon as they shall have received their offices.

Account of such leases shall be kept.

- que se gasten en pro del Comun. V No se a de consentir q̃ los propios y rrentas se gasten sino fueren en pro y comun del puº y si de otra manera se hiziere no se rreçiba En quenta.
- /obras publicas Se V Ase de tener Espeçial quidado de que las obras publicas se hagan hagan en menos preçio. a lo menos costa q̃ ser pueda y se rrematen en almoneda por baxa en la persona que menos lo pusiere y con fianças.
- Carniceria Matedero. V Ase de pºcurar con toda brebedad de hazer carniçeria y matadero alondiga carcel y mesones.
- que no tengan dos ofºs. y como se ha de hazer la eleçion. V Ningº pueda thener ni tenga dos ofiçios puºs y de cauildo ni sea elexido a ellos Vna persona Vn año tras otro por q̃ se rrepartan entre los Vezinos q̃ lo merezcan y gozen todos deste preVillegio y beneficio sino q̃ pasen dos aºs entre Vn ofº y otro y q̃ no biban con / otros ni lleben Acostamiº de persona algª. Ni se tengan por sus familiares ni allegados para se faboreçer dellos En sus pasiones.
- que no sean parçiales ni hagan Juntas. V que no sean parçiales ni hagan Juntas ni ayuntamº los Vnos contra los otros ni se Junten a hazer cauildo sino fuere en las casas q̃ [12 a] para ello estubieren diputadas y señaladas.
- q̃ puedan escribir a su magº. V q̃ puedan Escribir por cabildo A su magº y al bisrrey y haudiencia de esta nueba españa libremente y sin que en ello se les ponga ynpedimiento algº lo que biere q̃ Conbiene A su rrepublica y fuere neçesario de se pºbeer y rremediar.

Para Alldes ordinarios.

- Juramento. V que qº. se entregaren las baras a los alldes. ordinarios Reçiban dellos El Joramº en Tal caso necesario y se asiente por auto en el libro del cauildo y guarden y cunplan lo q̃. q̃da declarado para los Regidores y les a de entregar las baras y rreciuir El Joramº El gobernador /o su teniente y en su ausençia El Regidor mas antiguo.
- que hagan audiª V Han de hazer audiencia puª en la parte y lugar q̃ para ello estubiere deputado cada dia q̃ no sea feriado a la mañana y a la tarde haziendo Justiçia ygualmº. a las partes sin afiçion o odio o enemistad y no sean parçiales a ningª de las partes y asi lo han de Jurar en el Joramº q̃ dello se rreçibiere.

They shall not consent to the expenditure of the resources or revenues except in favor of the common public weal, and if expenditures are made in any other way accounting for them shall not be accepted.

Especial care shall be taken that public works shall be constructed at the lowest possible cost; they shall be awarded by bids to the person who makes the lowest bid with suitable bonds.

There shall be promptly erected a butcher-shop and slaughter-house, a storehouse, a jail, and inns.

No one may hold nor shall hold two public offices in the council, nor may any person be elected to such offices year after year, [but these shall rotate] in order that they may be distributed amongst the settlers who are worthy of them, that all may enjoy this privilege and benefit. Nor shall they pass in the second year from one office to another; nor shall they live with others who hold offices nor shall they receive any salary from any person whatever. Neither shall they be members of anyone's household or dependents of anyone whom they might favor through interest.

They shall not become partisans nor shall they hold meetings or assemblages one against the other, nor shall they unite for a meeting of the council except in the houses which [12 r] may be indicated and set aside therefor.

They may write as a council to his Majesty, to the viceroy, and to the audiencia of this New Spain, freely and without any hindrance being placed upon them, concerning whatever is desirable for the republic and may be necessary to order and remedy.

For Ordinary Justices

Whenever the staffs of office are delivered to the ordinary justices their oaths shall be taken in such necessary cases, and shall be set down in the form of an auto in the book of the council, and they shall keep and comply with that which has been already set forth for the councilmen. The staffs are to be delivered and the oaths received by the governor or his lieutenant and in the absence of these by the ranking councilman.

They shall hold public audiences in the place which may be set aside for the purpose on every day except feast days, both in the morning and in the afternoon, executing justice equitably to all parties without affection or hatred or enmity, and they shall not be partisans of any of the parties. They shall swear to do this in the oath which shall be received from them.

They shall be expended for the benefit of the commune.

Public works shall be performed at the lowest price.

Slaughter houses.

No one shall hold two offices, and how elections are to be conducted.

They shall not be partisans nor shall they hold meetings.

They may write to his Majesty.

Oath.

They shall hold audiences.

- q̃ Visiten las car- V An de Visitar las cárceles auiendo presos cada día y despacharlos
 celes. con brebedad
 pecados pu^{cos}. V han de tener Espeçial quidado de castigar los pecados pu^{cos}. como
 son blasfemias Juegos [12 b] p^oibidos amancebamientos echiçeros
 adibinos Usureros y otros semexantes y los demas q̃ sean de mal
 enxemplo y desto an de tener muy gran cuidado y poner en ello
 toda dilixençia sin la disimular Con persona alg^a.
 Huerfanos y V An de tener quenta con los huerfanos y menores y para ello non-
 menores. brar persona y para q̃ los defienda y pida lo q̃ Conbenga y los
 ponga a que deprendan of^o. y ha Serui^o con personas Virtuosas
 Vagamundos. V An de poner otra persona q̃ Tenga qu^{ta}. con los bagamundos y
 los hagan castigar y los conpelan y hapremien a que tomen amo y
 deprendan ofiçios.
 que no entren con V no an de sacar bara fuera de los termi^{os} del pu^o. ni entrar con ella
 bara en los pu^{os} de En los pu^{os} de los yndios para ebitar ynconbinientes.
 yndios.
 q̃ guarden el V An de thener cuidado de guardar El arañel de su mag^t lleuandolos
 arañel. der^{os} treplicados y no consentir lleuar ni lleben derechos demasia-
 dos y castiguen al q̃ lo contrario hiziere y no guardare lo q̃ dño es
 derechos de los V A los yndios an de lleuar los derechos Conforme a la çedula de su
 yndios. mag^t por El arancel del Rey^o sin los treplicar a los q̃ fueren pobres
 ni lleben ni consientan llebar der^{os} alg^{os} asi a yndios como a los
 demas.
 q̃ tengan el arancel V an de hazer q̃ haya una tabla pu^{ca}m^{te} En [13 a] El lugar donde
 donde hazen audi^a. hizieren audiçia En q̃ heste puesto El arañel Para q̃ todos
 Sepan los derechos q̃ han de llebar y las partes los q̃ han de pagar.
 que no lleuen parte V No pueden hazer ni hagan Conçierto con los of^{es} para q̃ les den
 de los derechos. ni lleben parte de los derechos.
 que no sean aboga- V No pueden ser ni sean abogados p^oCuradores ni soliçitadores. En
 dos ni procura- los neg^{os} y pleitos ni den consejo favor ni ayuda a las partes /
 dores.
 No lleben coechos. V No rreciban Ni puedan Recibir coechos dadibas ni presentes En
 mucha ni en poca cantidad Aun q̃ sean cosas de comer.
 pena De omeçillo. V No puedan llebar ni lleben la pena de omeçillo sino fuere En casos
 de muerte /o q^l culpado merezca muerte.

If there are prisoners they shall visit the jails every day and transact their business therein promptly.

They shall visit the jails.

They shall take especial care to punish public sins such as blasphemy, prohibited [12 v] games, concubinage, witchery, soothsaying, usury, and other similar sins, and all of those which may set a bad example. Of these they shall take great care, lending all diligence thereto without dissimulating with any person whomsoever.

Public sins.

They shall take especial care of orphans and minors; for this purpose they shall name a person to defend them and demand what is necessary for them, and place them to learn a trade and perform service in the homes of virtuous persons.

Orphans and minors.

They shall name another person who shall have supervision of vagabonds. He shall punish them and urge and compel them to take masters and follow trades.

Vagabonds.

They shall not carry their staffs outside the boundaries of the town, nor enter with them into the towns of the Indians, in order to avoid difficulties.

They shall not enter the towns of Indians with their staffs of justice.

They shall take care to keep the schedule of fees of his Majesty, charging threefold;¹⁴ they shall not consent to charging nor shall they charge excessive fees and they shall punish him who does to the contrary and does not keep what is here ordered.

They shall have the guardianship of the tariff schedule.

From the Indians they shall receive fees in conformity with the cedula of his Majesty according to the schedule of the kingdom, without levying them threefold upon those who are poor; nor shall they levy nor consent to the levying of any fees upon the Indians as upon others.

Fees paid by Indians.

They shall see to it that there is a tablet publicly situated in [13 r] the place where they hold audience on which the schedule of fees shall be exhibited so that all may know what fees the [judges] may collect, and litigants what sums they have to pay.

They shall keep the schedule of fees where they hold audience.

They may not, nor shall they, make any concert with the [treasury] officers to the end that they may be given or paid any part of the fees.

They shall not keep part of the fees.

They may not be, nor shall they be, lawyers, procurators, nor solicitors. In business affairs and suits they may give neither counsel, favor, nor aid to the parties thereto.

They shall not be lawyers nor procurators.

They shall not receive, nor may they receive bribes, gifts, or presents, in large quantity or small, not even things to eat.

They shall not receive bribes.

They may not impose, nor shall they impose, the death penalty save in cases of murder or in which the culprit merits death.

The death penalty.

- Almonedas. V No puedan sacar ni saquen de las almonedas de bienes de difuntos Cosa alg^a para ellos por si ni por ynterposita persona / y asista el Vno dellos a ellas por su orden y guarden las ordenanças q̃ Sobre esto ay de su mag^t y lo mismo hagan los albaçeos de los tales difuntos.
- Der^{os} de execuçion. V q̃ no consientan q̃ los alguaçiles lleben derechos de execuçion antes de ser pagados. A contento [de?] la parte.
- No lleben pena V que no lleben las setenas ni parte dellas ni pena alg^a. antes de la
antes de la sen-
tençia. sentençia.
- [13 b] pesos y tasa. V q̃ tengan cuidado de Visitar los pesos y medidas y pongan preçio y
tasa en los mantenimientos y Jornales.
- q̃ tomen por si los V q̃ tomen por si los t^{os}. en las causas criminales y cebiles de ynpor-
t^a tançia y las confesiones de las partes sin lo cometer a los Escri-
banos.
- Libro para penas V que los escribanos tengan libro en que Asienten las condenaçiones
de camara. para la camara y obras pu^{cas} y pias y las hagan cobrar y entregar
al rreceptor dellas y q̃ dentro de otro dia como se hiziere la tal
condenaçion le den noticia dello.
- Receptor para las V que aya y nonbren Receptor para las dhas penas y donde estu-
penas. bieren los of^{es} de su mag^t. lo sea El tesorero.
- Carcelero. V q̃l carçelero tenga libro de entrada y salida y trate bien los presos.
y tenga las mujeres por si en aposento diferente y hapartado del
de los honbres y no quite ni agraue las prisiones sin licençia ni
lleue dadibas ni coechos.
- Alguaciles. V que los alguaçiles no prendan sin mandami^{to}. sino fuere En infra-
gante delito y trate bien a todos y Juren si an dado o dan algo
de Renta por los tales ofiçios.
- que guarden las V q̃ todos guarden lo q̃ deben y son obligados a guardar En sus
leyes ofiçios segun y como lo [14 a] disponen las leyes del Rey^o. y los
usen linpiamente y sin llebar coechos.
- q̃ defiendan la V que los alldes tengan Especial cuidado de defender la Jurisdicçion
jurisdicçion R^{al}. R^{al}. y q̃ no p^ocuren q̃ los Juezes eclesiasticos les notifiquen yni-
Vitorias para se ynibir.

They may not, nor shall they, take anything for themselves from auctions of the estates of deceased persons, either through their own action or by the interposition or aid of another person. One of them shall be present at such auctions to preserve order and see that the ordinances by his Majesty in the matter are observed. The executors of deceased persons shall observe this regulation also.

Auctions.

They shall not permit the constables to receive fees for the execution [of orders] before they are paid with the consent of the litigant.

Fees for execution.

They shall not collect fines [*setenas*, sevenfold penalties] nor any part of them nor any fine whatsoever, prior to passage of sentence.

They shall not collect fines before sentence is passed.

[13 v] They shall take care to inspect weights and measures, and to set prices and tariffs for foodstuffs and wages.

Weights and tariffs.

They shall personally take testimony in criminal and civil cases of importance, and also the confessions of litigants, without confiding them to the clerks.

They shall personally take evidence.

The notaries shall keep a book in which they shall set down fines imposed for the chamber and public and pious works. They shall cause them to be collected and turned over to the receiver thereof, and within one day after the passage of such sentence they shall give him notice of it.

A book for court fines.

There shall be and they shall name a receiver for said fines; where there are officials of his Majesty he shall be the treasurer.

Receiver for fines.

The jailer shall keep a book of entries and departures; he shall treat the prisoners well, and keep the women by themselves in a dwelling separate and apart from that of the men. He shall not reduce or augment sentences of imprisonment without license, nor shall he receive gifts or bribes.

Jailer.

The constables shall not make arrests without orders except in cases of criminals taken in the act. They shall treat all [prisoners] well, and they shall make oath as to whether they have given or are giving any payments for the offices they hold.

Constables.

They shall all observe what they should and are obliged to observe in their offices, as the laws [14 r] of the kingdom provide, and they shall keep them unsullied without receiving bribes.

They shall keep the laws.

The justices shall take especial care to defend the royal jurisdiction and not allow the ecclesiastical judges to serve writs upon them to inhibit their actions.

They shall defend the royal jurisdiction.

No se hagan torres. V que no consientan ni den lugar a q̃ se hagan Torres ni casas fuertes sin licencia de su mag^t.

Todo lo qu^al que dho es Asi guardad y cunplid segun y Como aqui se contiene cada Vno lo que asi toca guardando Ansimismo las leyes y prematicas y los capitulos de Corregidores y Juezes de rresidençias y las leyes y hordenanças echas para estas partes y las cedula cartas y prouisiones de su mag^t. so las penas en ellas y en cada Vna dellas contenidas y para cada Vn pu^o de los q̃ se poblaren ha de dar y de el gobernador Vn treslado desta ynstruicion firmada de su nonbre y signada describano. y mandamos q̃ lo guarden Como si por mi el Virrey y esta R^al. audiencia se diese y hablase con ellos y cada Vno dellos particular y espresamente so las dhas penas. fecho En Mex^{co} a tres de abril de mill y qui^{os} y cinq^{ta} y nueve a^{os}.

DON LUIS DE BELASCO.
El licenciado de ÇORITA.
El dotor BRABO.
El dotor VILLALOBOS.

q̃ son fechas y sacadas corregidas y concertadas Con el dño oreginal de berbun ad berbun Segun y como en ellas se contienen. Siendo presentes por t^{os}. a lo ber sacar corregir y conçertar Con el dho oreginal fauian de Loria. Ju^o docampo Sancho Velez. En fee de lo qual yo Ju^o de uargas esn^o deste exercito y campo de su m^t. nonbrado por el yll^e señor angel de billafaña gouernador destas probinçias de la florida lo fize sacar y saque por m^{do} del dho señor gov^{or} segun y como En ellas se contiene y por ende lo firme de mi nonbre que son a tal En testimonio de berdad

JHOAN DE BARGAS,
esn^o nonbra^o.
[*Rubricado*]

[14 b en blanco]

[15 a] EL JURAME^{to} Y PLITO MENAJE q̃ HIZO DON TRISTAN

†

Este Es Vn treslado. Vien y fielm^{te} sacado del pleito omenaje q̃

They shall not permit nor give opportunity for the building of towers or strongholds without license from his Majesty.

They shall not
build towers.

All of the foregoing herein contained you shall keep and comply with as it may concern each of you, according to what is contained herein, keeping both the laws, the pragmatics, and the capitulations of *corregidores*¹⁵ and judges of *residencias*¹⁶ and the laws and ordinances made for these parts and the cédulas, letters, and orders of his Majesty under the penalties therein and in each of them contained. For each of the towns which may be settled the governor must and shall give a transcript of this instruction signed with his name and countersigned by a notary, and we command that it shall be obeyed as if it were given by myself the viceroy and this royal audiencia, and as though it had been spoken to each and every one of you particularly and expressly, under the penalties indicated. Dated in Mexico, April 3, 1559.

DON LUIS DE VELASCO.

Licentiate DE ZURITA.

Doctor BRAVO.

Doctor VILLALOBOS.

[These instructions] are dated, copied, corrected, and compared with the original, word for word, in accordance with the contents thereof. Present as witnesses to see them copied, corrected, and compared with the said original, Fabián de Loria, Juan de Ocampo, Sancho Vélez. In testimony whereof I, Juan de Vargas, notary of this army and camp of his Majesty, appointed by the most illustrious Ángel de Villafañe, governor of these provinces of La Florida, caused them to be copied and copied them by command of the said governor, according to and as the contents thereof appear; and finally I signed them with my name as appears below, in witness of the truth.

JUAN DE VARGAS,

Notary appointed.

[*Rubric*]

[14 v blank]

[15 r] THE OATH AND COVENANT OF HOMAGE MADE BY DON
TRISTÁN

†

This is a transcript well and faithfully made of the covenant

hen cunplimi^o de lo por su mag^t. mandado El Yll^{mo}. Visorrey de la nu^a españa don luis de Velasco tomo e rreçibio de don tristan de luna y harellano gobernador probeido de las prob^{as} de la florida en la yglesia mior de la çiu^dad de mex^{co} presente el arcobpo. fray al^o de montufar of^{es} de su mag^t. y rrelisiosos de las ordenes de santo domingo San fran^{co} y sant agustin firmado del Yll^{mo}. Visorrey de la nueba españa y del dho don tristan de luna y harellano e rrefrendada de ant^o de turçios escribano mior de la gobernaçion della del tenor siguiente.

V En la ynsignia y muy noble y muy leal e gran çiu^dad de mex^{co} de la nueba España dia de todos santos prim^o. dia del mes de nobienbre Año del naçimiento de n^{ro} Saluador ihu Xpo de mill y quinientos e çinq^{ta}. y ocho años estando en la yglesia mior de la dha çiu^dad en las gradas del altar mior della El Yll^{mo}. señor don luis de Velasco Viso Rey gouernador e cap^{tan}. general por su mag^t. en la dha nu^a españa y presidente de la audiencia R^{al} della y los señores oydores de la dha Real audiencia y el R^{mo}. señor don alonso de montufar arcobispo. de la dha yglesia. y del consejo de su mag^t. y algunos Relisiosos de las tres ordenes Santo domingo y san fran^{co}. y sant agustin y presentes los of^{es}. de la rr^{al} hazienda y la justiçia y rregimi^o. de la dha ciudad y otros muchos caualleros y personas prencipales e Vz^{os}. della y gran concurso de Jente por ante mi antonio de Turçios escribano mior de la dha R^{al} audiencia y gobernaçion desta nueba españa despues de aberse benedçido por el dho señor arcobispo el estandarte Real Con las çerimonias y solenidades que en tal caso se rrequiere El dho señor Visorrey hizo a don Tristan de luna y harellano q̃ presente estaua y persona que en nonbre de su mag^t. tenia nonbrado y señalado por gobernador de las prouinçias de la florida Antes de le entregar el dho estandarte R^{al} El Razonam^{to}. siguiente.

En cunplimi^{to}. de lo que la mag^t. R^{al} del Rey don felipe n^{ro} señor me A ynuiado a mandar çerca q̃ ynbie en su rr^{al} nonbre a poblar la tñra de la florida y punta de s^{ta}. Elena y ha predicar n^{ra} santa fee [15 b] Catolica A los naturales para q̃ vengan en conoçimiento della, y para otros hefetos ynportantes al serui^o. de dios n^{ro} señor y de Su mag^t. Comunicado con esta R^{al}. audiencia y con el

of homage¹⁷ which, in fulfilment of his Majesty's command, the most excellent viceroy of New Spain, Don Luis de Velasco, took and received from Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor-elect of the provinces of La Florida, in the principal church of the City of Mexico in the presence of the archbishop, Fray Alonso de Montúfar, the officials of his Majesty, and the religious of the orders of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Augustine. Signed by the most illustrious viceroy of New Spain and by the said Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, and countersigned by Antonio de Turcios, chief notary of the government thereof, and having the following tenor:

In the notable, very noble, very loyal, and great City of Mexico of New Spain, on the day of All Saints, the first day of the month of November, in the year of the birth of our Savior Jesus Christ, 1558, there being present in the principal church of the city, on the steps of the high altar thereof, the most illustrious Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy, governor, and captain-general for his Majesty in the said New Spain, and president of the royal audiencia thereof, the judges of the royal audiencia, the most reverend Don Alonso de Montúfar, archbishop of the church and member of the council of his Majesty, certain religious of the three orders of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Augustine, the officials of the royal treasury, of justice, and of the government of the city, many other gentlemen and principal persons and residents thereof, and a great concourse of people, before me, Antonio de Turcios, chief notary of the royal audiencia and government of this New Spain, after the royal standard had been blessed by the archbishop with the ceremonies and solemnities in such cases required, the said viceroy made to Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, who was present, being the person who in the name of his Majesty he had nominated and appointed as governor of the provinces of La Florida, before turning over to him the royal standard, the following discourse:

In compliance with that which the royal Majesty of the king, Don Felipe our lord, has sent to me as a commandment, that I should send [an expedition] in his royal name to settle the land of La Florida and the Punta de Santa Elena and to preach our holy Catholic faith [15 v] to the natives, in order that they may come into the knowledge thereof, and for other purposes important to the service of God our Lord and of his Majesty, I have, after communing with the most reverend archbishop and

R^{mo}. arcobispo y con los prouinçiales de las ordenes de santo domingo san Fran^{co}. y san agustin y con otras personas prudentes y de espiriençia se an señalado los Relisiosos que an de yr y acordado el numero de la Xente española q̃ para su defensa y poblaçiones que se obieren de hazer y conbiene nonbrar persona que los gouierne Como su mag^t lo manda y considerando q̃ Vos señor don tristan de luna y harellano sois cauallero Xpiano prudente y de espiriençia temeroso de dios n̄ro señor y celoso de su serui^o. en quien concurren las demas calidades necesarias os he nonbrado Como señor sabeis por gouernador y cap^{tan}. g^{al} de la gente española E yndios q̃ fueren en V̄ra conpañia e flota y de los q̃ adelante yran y de las poblaçiones y fuerças que hizieredes y poblaredes Conforme a la comision e ynstruicion q̃ se os dara. y como a tal gouernador y capitan general se os ha de entregar este Estandarte R^{al} Con la ynsinia y señal de la santa cruz † en q̃ Dios n̄ro señor Redimio el genero humano para q̃ Con estas Armas y con la predicacion ebangelica de los Relisiosos trabajeis de traer aquella Jente de paz y ha la obidiençia de la S^{ta} madre yglesia y al dominio y señorio de su mag^t. sin hazelles guerra fuerza ni mal tratami^o. y lo que en su R^{al} nonbre os encargo y mando es q̃ prençipalmente tengais. Ante V̄ros/ojos al serui^o. de dios y de su mag^t. y el bien y conbersion de los naturales y buen tratami^o. dellos y de los Relisiosos y españoles. q̃ yran en V̄ra. conpañia teniendolos en paz y en justia y que mas con buen exenplo / Obras y bida Xpiana procureis de atraer a los naturales A que os ymiten y obedezcan q̃. con las harm^{as} y q̃ dellas no useis syno fuere en casos forzosos y neçesa [16 a] rios para la defensa de n̄ra santa fee y de los predicadores della. la Jornada es de grande ynportançia y sera de mucho onor y haprouechami^{to}. Asy para uos señor como para los caballeros hijosdalgo y la demas de gente q̃ fuere en ella por ser la t̄rra larga buena sana e fertil donde licitamente y con buena conçiençia aueis de ser honrrados y haprobechados. y dem^{as} que se probee y probeera de la R^{al}. ha-zienda lo neçesario para la Jornada como su mag^t. me lo manda de nabios y bastimentos cunplidamente para q̃ Dios mediante el biaje Aya efeto os ofrezco q̃ siendo auisado ayudare y socorrere

with the provincials of the orders of St. Dominic, St. Francis, and St. Augustine, and with other prudent and experienced persons, selected the religious who are to go; the number of Spanish people who are to be sent for its defense and the settlements which are to be made have been agreed upon, and it is now fitting to appoint a person to govern them, as his Majesty commands. Wherefore, considering that you, Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, are a Christian gentleman, prudent, with much experience, fearful of God our Lord and zealous in His service, and a person in whom are found the other necessary qualities, I have appointed you, sir, as you know, as governor and captain-general of the Spanish people and Indians who are to go in your company and fleet and of those who may henceforth go, and of the settlements and fortifications which you may make and settle in conformity with the commission and instruction which will be given to you. As such governor and captain-general you are to have delivered to you this royal standard with the insignia and the sign of the holy cross (†) upon which God our Lord redeemed mankind, in order that with these arms and with the evangelical preaching of the religious you may labor to bring those people into peace and into obedience to our holy mother church and into the dominion and overlordship of his Majesty, without subjecting them to war, force, or bad treatment. What I charge and command you in his royal name is that you should have principally before your eyes the service of God and of his Majesty, the welfare, conversion, and good treatment of the natives, and of the religious and the Spaniards who go in your company, keeping them in peace and in justice. Especially by your good example, your works, and your Christian life, will you endeavor to attract the natives to imitate and obey you, rather than by use of arms, whereof you shall not make use save in case of force and necessity [16 r] for the defense of our holy faith and the preachers thereof. The expedition is of great importance and it will be much to your honor and benefit, sir, both for you and for the gentlemen, hidalgos, and other persons who may go upon it; for the land is large, good, healthful, and fertile, and in it you shall be free and with good conscience, honored and benefited. In addition to what is faithfully provided and will be provided from the royal treasury in the way of necessities for the expedition, as his Majesty commands me in the matter of ships and supplies in order that God may be served by the voyage, I promise you that upon notice I will aid and succor

con jente y caualllos y ganados con lo que mas fuere necesario. y suplicare a su mag^t. con gran ynstancia. que / os haga las mrdes que hobiere lugar como se debe a tan leales Vasallos y defensores y hanpleadores de nra santa fee y prouendose asi tengo entendido el animo y bondad de la Xente española desta nueva España q̃ todos los que tienen en hedad y habilidad y no ynpedimi^o forçoso q̃ se lo ynpida pretenderan yr la jornada por ser de tanto onor e ynportancia yo çertifico q̃ si tubiera licencia de su mag^t. para ello la hiziera en persona, y pues la habeis señor açetado conui^e. que en presençia de los oydores desta R^{al} audiençia y del R^{mo} arçobispo Relisiosos caualleros y of^{es}. de su mag^t. q̃ estan presentes hagais el Jura^{to} y pleito omenaje que en semejante caso se debe hazer/

V y fecho el dho Razonami^o. por el dho señor Visrrey el dho don tristan de luna y harellano Respondio y dixo q̃ por seruir A Dios nro señor y ha la mag^t. R^{al}. del Rey don felipe como su leal criado q̃ thenia aceptado la dha mrd. y ha mior abundami^o. de nuebo la acetaua y açeto y q̃staba [16 b] presto de hazer el juramento y pleito omenaje que le es pedido e luego e incontiniente en presençia de mi el dho antonio de Turçios escribano mior de la gouernaçion desta nueva españa por su mag^t. el dho don tristan de luna y harellano hizo Juramento y pleito omenaje en manos del Ill^{mo} señor Don luis de Velasco Viso Rey gouernador y capitan general desta nu^a españa por su mag^t. cauallero de la orden de santiago hijodalgo las manos plegadas una con otra entre las del dho señor Viso Rey el qual se la [sic] tomo en la forma y manera siguiente q̃ Vos señor don tristan de luna y harellano jurais y hazeis pleito omenaje como cauallero hijo dalgo Vna dos y tres Vezes una dos y tres bezes una dos y tres Vezes segun fuero despaña de tener las trrás lugares y fuerzas q̃ se poblaren en la trra de la florida y sus comarcas y puertos por la mag^t. R^{al}. del Rey Don felipe nro señor y para su serui^o. y como tales las defendereis Asi en guerra como en paz como bueno y leal basallo suyo guardando en todo el serui^o. de su mag^t. y que acudireis con la dha trra prouinçias pueblos fuerzas y puertos della y con la jente artilleria nabios y munijiones y con los tributos y rrentas que su mag^t. obiere de

you with men, horses, and flocks and in all that may be necessary. And I will beseech his Majesty with great insistence to make to you such grants as are fitting, as being owed to such loyal vassals, and defenders and amplifiers of our holy faith. All these things being provided, [if] I understand the spirit and goodness of the Spanish people of this New Spain, all those who are of sufficient age and capacity and have no serious impediment which prevents them will endeavor to go on the journey, since it is of so great honor and importance. I assure you that if I had license from his Majesty to do so I myself would go on this expedition in person. Since you, sir, have accepted [this duty] it is fitting that you should, in the presence of the judges of this royal audiencia, of the most reverend archbishop, the religious, the gentlemen, and the officials of his Majesty who are present, take the oath and covenant of homage which must be taken in such cases.

When this discourse by the viceroy was ended, Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano replied and said that in order to serve God our Lord and the royal Majesty of the king, Don Felipe, as his loyal servant he had accepted this grant and that he now accepted it more fully and anew, and that he was [16 v] ready to take the oath and covenant of homage required of him. Thereupon, immediately, in the presence of myself, Antonio de Turcios, chief notary of the government of this New Spain for his Majesty, Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano took the oath and covenant of homage in the hands of the most illustrious Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy, governor, and captain-general of this New Spain for his Majesty, a cavalier of the order of Santiago, and an hidalgo, with his hands folded together between those of the said viceroy, who administered the oath to him in the following form and manner: You, Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, do swear and take oath of homage as a cavalier and hidalgo, one, two, and three times—one, two, and three times—one, two, and three times, in accordance with the custom of Spain, to hold the lands, towns, and fortifications which may be settled in the land of La Florida, its confines and its ports, for the royal Majesty of the king, Don Felipe, our lord, and for his service; and as such you will defend them both in war and in peace as a good and loyal vassal of his, keeping in all things the service of his Majesty; and you will surrender, with the said land, provinces, towns, fortified places and ports thereof, the people, artillery, ships, and munitions, and the tributes and revenues which his Majesty may have, to whomever his Majesty

hauer A quien su mag^t. ynbiare a mandar por su prouision carta o çedula R^{al} sin poner en ello escusa ynpedimi^o. ni otra dilacion alguna y q̄ obedezereis y conplireis lo q̄ por su mag^t. os fuere mandado y por mi o audiencia R^{al} desta nueba españa so pena de alebe y de caer en mal caso y en las otras penas en der^o. establecidas en que yncurren los caualleros y [17 a] personas que quebrantan el Juram^{to} y pleito omenaje fcho A su rrey y señor natural. el qual dño don tristan de luna y harellano Respondio e dixo teniendo las manos plegadas entre las del dho señor Viso Rey q̄ Juraba. y hazia pleito omenaje como cauallero hijo dalgo Vna dos y tres bezes segun fuero despaña q̄ terna las terrās lugares fuerzas q̄ se poblaren en la dña tñra de la florida y sus comarcas y puertos por la mag^t R^{al} del Rey don felipe nño señor y para su seruicio y como tales los defendera y hanparara ansi en guerra como en paz como bueno fiel y leal basallo suyo y que en todo guardara su rr^{al} serui^o. y hacudira con la dña tñra proVincias pueblos fuerças y puertos della y con la jente artilleria y nauios y municiones y con los tributos y Rentas q̄ su mag^t. ouiere de hauer a quien su mag^t. ynviare a mandar por su prouision carta o çedula R^{al} sin poner en ello escusa ynpedimi^o. ni otra dilacion alguna y que obedezera y cunplira lo q̄ por su mag^t. le fuere mandado y por su señoria del dño señor Viso Rey o audiencia R^{al} desta nueba españa so pena de alebe y de caer en mal caso y en las otras penas en der^o establecidas en que yncurren los caualleros y personas que quebrantan el Juram^{to}. y pleito omenaje echo a su Rey y señor natural y prometio de lo guardar y cunplir y no yr ni benir contra ello por ning^a. Via causa ni rrazon q̄ sea y lo firmo de su nonbre

Don LUIS DE VELASCO.

Don TRISTAN DE LUNA Y HARELLANO.

paso Ante mi

ANTONIO DE TURÇIOS.

E fecho el dho Juramento pleito [17 b] omenaje el dño señor Visrrey en nonbre de su mag^t. dio y entrego al dho don tristan de

may send to take command by his order, letter, or royal cedula, without opposing thereto any excuse, impediment, or any other delay whatsoever; and you will obey and comply with whatever you may be ordered by his Majesty, by me, or by the royal audiencia of this New Spain, under penalty of [being declared] treacherous and of falling into evil state and of incurring the other penalties established by law which are incurred by gentlemen [17 r] and persons who break the oath and covenant of homage made to their king and natural lord. To this Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano replied and said, having his hands folded between those of the viceroy: that he swore and took covenant of homage as a gentleman and hidalgo one, two, and three times, according to the custom of Spain, that he would hold the lands, towns, and fortified places which might be settled in the land of La Florida, its confines and ports, for the royal Majesty of the king, Don Felipe, our lord, and for his service; and as such he would defend them and protect them both in war and in peace as a faithful and loyal vassal of his, and that in all things he would keep his loyal service, and that he would surrender the said land, provinces, towns, fortresses, and forts thereof, with the people, artillery, ships, and munitions, and with the tributes and revenues which his Majesty might have, to whomever his Majesty might send to take command by his order, letter, or royal cedula, without opposing thereto any excuse, impediment, or other delay whatsoever; and that he would obey and comply with that which his Majesty might command him, or his Lordship the viceroy, or the royal audiencia of this New Spain, under penalty of [being declared] treacherous, and of falling into evil state, and under the other penalties established by law which are incurred by gentlemen and persons who break the oath and covenant of homage made to their king and natural lord. And he promised to guard it and keep it and not to oppose it by any method or for any cause or reason whatsoever. Thereupon they signed with their names.

Don LUIS DE VELASCO.

Don TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

Done before me,

ANTONIO DE TURCIOS.

When the oath and covenant [17 v] of homage was made, the viceroy in the name of his Majesty gave and delivered to Don

luna y harellano El estandarte Real el qual de mano de su señoría lo Recibio en nonbre de la mag^t. R^{al} t^{os} los dños. En fee de lo qual fize aqui este mio sygno q^s a tal en testimi^o. de berdad.

ANTONIO DE TURÇIOS.

q^s fecho y sacado corregido y concertado con el dho pleito omenaje oreginal de berbun ad berbun segun y como En el se contiene siendo presentes por t^{os} a lo ber sacar corregir y concertar con el dho oreginal fauian de Loria y Ju^o docampo y sancho Velez En fee de lo qual yo Ju^o de uargas esn^o deste exercito y campo de su m^t nonbrado por el yll^e. señor angel de uillafana gobernador destas provincias de la florida y punta de santa elena lo fize sacar y saque por mandado del Señor gov^{or}. segund y como En el se contiene y por ende lo firme de mi nonbre que es a tal En testimonio de berdad.

JHOAN DE VARGAS

esn^o nonbrado.

[*Rubricado*]

[18 a y 18 b en blanco]

[19 a]

†

LA PROUISION DE LA AUD^A INSERTA LA DE SU MAG^D P^A DON TRISTAN

Este es Vn treslado bien y fiel^{te}. sacado de Vna p^obision R^{al} de la mag^t. del Rey don felipe n^{ro} S^{or}. y sellada con su rr^{al} sello y firmada del Ill^{mo}. Visrrey de la nueba esp^a. don luis de belasco y rrefrenda[da] de ant^o. de turçios Escribano de la audi^a R^{al} y gobernacion della por su mag^t. E Reg^a de xpobal perez de luçana e chancellada de p^o. hordonez para don tristan de luna y harellano. Su thenor de la dha p^obision R^{al} Es este q̃ se sigue.

Don felipe por la g^{ra} de dios Rey de castilla de leon de aragon de yngalaterra de françia de las dos Secilias de Jerusalem de nauarra de granada de toledo de Valençia de galizia de mallorcas de seuilla de çerdeña de cordoua de corcega de murçia de jaem de los algarues de algeçira de gibraltar de las yslas de canaria de las yndias e yslas e t^{rra} firme del mar oçeano Conde de barçelona señor de bizcaya y de molina duque de atenas y de neopatria Conde de Ruisellon

Tristán de Luna y Arellano the royal standard, who received from his Lordship's hand in the name of his royal Majesty all the rights [thereto appertaining]. In witness whereof I affixed here this my signature as appears below, in testimony of the truth.

ANTONIO DE TURCIOS.

This is made, copied, corrected, and compared with the original covenant of homage, word for word as is contained therein, there being present to see it copied, corrected, and compared with the said original, Fabián de Loria, Juan de Ocampo, and Sancho Vélez; in witness whereof I, Juan de Vargas, notary of this army and camp of his Majesty, appointed by the most illustrious Ángel de Villafañe, governor of these provinces of La Florida and the Punta de Santa Elena, had it copied and copied it by command of the governor in accordance with the contents thereof; and finally I signed it with my name as appears below, in witness of the truth.

JUAN DE VARGAS,
Notary appointed.

[*Rubric*]

[18 *r* and 18 *v* blank]

[19 *r*]

†

THE ORDER OF THE AUDIENCIA ENCLOSING THAT OF HIS MAJESTY
FOR DON TRISTÁN¹⁸

This is a transcript, well and faithfully made, of a royal provision of the Majesty of the king, Don Felipe, our lord, sealed with his royal seal, signed by the most illustrious viceroy of New Spain, Don Luis de Velasco, and countersigned by Antonio de Turcios, notary of the royal audiencia and government thereof for his Majesty. Registered by Cristóbal Pérez de Luzana and sealed by Pedro Ordóñez. For Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano. The tenor of the said royal provision is as follows:

Don Felipe, by the grace of God, king of Castile, of León, of Aragon, of England, of France, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarre, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaen, of the Algarves, of Algeciras, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, of the Indies, of the islands and the firm land of the ocean sea, count of Barcelona, lord of Vizcaya and of Molina, duke of Athens and of Neopatria, count of Roussillon and of Sardinia,

y de çerdania marques de oristan y de goçiano archiduque de austria duque de borgoña y de brabante y milan Conde de flandes y de tirol &. por quanto nos por Vna nña carta y prouision Real dada / en ballid. a beinte y nueve de diçiembre del año de çinquenta y siete tenemos dada licençia y facultad a don luis de belasco nño Visorrey y cap^{tan}. g^{al} de la nueba españa y presidente de la audiencia Real que en ella Reside para que no enbargante la proyuicion q̃ esta fecha para no poder hazer nuevos descubrimientos y poblaciones si biere conbenir al serui^o. de dios / nño señor E nño los pueda ynbiar a hazer espeçialmente las prouias. suXetas a la dña nña Audiencia y la florida y se pueblen y pongan en toda puliçia asi para que los naturales dellas q̃stan sin lunbre de fee sean alunbrados y enseñados como para q̃ los españoles sean Aproueçados y se arraiguen en ellas Segun que mas largamente en la dña nña carta y prouision Real se contiene el tenor de la q^{al}. es este q̃ se sigue // Don felipe por la graçia de dios Rey de castilla de leon de aragon de yngalaterra de françia de las dos Secilias de jerusalem de nauarra de granada de toledo de balençia de galizia de mallorcas de seui^a de cerdeña de cordoua de corcega de murçia de Jaem de los algarues de alXeçira de gibraltar de las yslas de canaria de las yndias e yslas e tñra firme del mar /oceanico conde de barçelona señor de bizcaya y de molina duque de atenas y de neopatria conde/de Ruisellon y de çerdania marques de oristan y de goçiano archiduque de austria/duque de borgoña y brabante y milan Conde de flandes y de tirol &. // A uos don luis de uelasco. nño Viso Rey. y cap^{tan}. g^{al}. de la nueba españa y presidente de la Audiencia R^{al}. que en ella Reside porq̃ sigun lo q̃ por nos esta probeido y mandado Vos no podeis ynbiar a hazer nuevos descubrimientos y poblaciones ni probeer gouernadores para ellos sin nña liçençia y espeçial mandado y nos deseando mucho esa trña y prouinçias della sujetas a esa audiencia de [nueba españa] [19 b] y la florida se pueblen y pongan en toda puliçia Asi para que los naturales dellas q̃stan sin lunbre de fee sean alunbrados y enseñados en ella como para que ellos y los españoles que en esas tñras Residen y ha ellas pasaren sean Aproueçados y se arraiguen y tengan asiento y manera de biuir a pareçido dar horden como las

marquis of Oristan and of Gociano, archduke of Austria, duke of Burgundy, of Brabant, and Milan, count of Flanders and of Tyrol, *et cetera*. Since we, by a letter of ours and royal provision given in Valladolid on December 29 of the year '57, have given license and faculty to Don Luis de Velasco, our viceroy and captain-general of New Spain and president of the royal audiencia which resides therein, that he may, in spite of the prohibition which has been issued ordering that he shall make no new discoveries or settlements, if he should see it to be conducive to the service of God our Lord and to ours, send out to make them, especially in the provinces subject to our said audiencia and [in] La Florida, which shall be settled and placed under orderly government, both to the end that the natives thereof, who are without the light of faith, may be illuminated and taught, and that the Spaniards may be benefited and may become established in them, as is expressed at greater length in our aforesaid letter and royal provision, the tenor of which is as follows: Don Felipe, by the grace of God, king of Castile, of León, of Aragon, of England, of France, of the two Sicilies, of Jerusalem, of Navarre, of Granada, of Toledo, of Valencia, of Galicia, of Majorca, of Seville, of Sardinia, of Córdoba, of Corsica, of Murcia, of Jaen, of the Algarves, of Algeciras, of Gibraltar, of the Canary Islands, of the Indies, and of the islands and firm land of the ocean sea, count of Barcelona, lord of Vizcaya and of Molina, duke of Athens and of Neopatria, count of Roussillon and of Sardinia, marquis of Oristan and Gociano, archduke of Austria, duke of Burgundy, Brabant, and Milan, count of Flanders and of Tyrol, *et cetera*. To you, Don Luis de Velasco, our viceroy and captain-general of New Spain and president of the royal audiencia which resides therein: Since you may not, in accordance with what we have ordered and commanded, send to make new discoveries and settlements nor provide governors for them without our license and special command, and since we [now] desire very much that that land and the provinces thereof which are subject to that audiencia [of New Spain] [19 v] and [also the land] of La Florida, may be settled and placed under orderly government, both to the end that the natives thereof who are without the light of the faith may be illuminated and instructed in it, and that they and the Spaniards who reside in those lands and go out to them may be benefited and may become established in them and may have homes and means of living, it has seemed wise to give orders that such

dhas poblaciones se hagan y por la mucha confiança q̃ de Ṽra persona tenemos auemos acordado de os Remitir esto para q̃ Vos como persona q̃ teneis la cosa presente y beeis lo que conberna hazerse para el seruiº. de dios ñro S^{or}. y ñro. como para el bien de la t̃fra. probeais en ello lo q̃ os pareciere por la presente Vos damos licençia y facultad para q̃ si bos bieredes conbenir podais ynbiar y ynbieis a hazer d̃ños nuevos descubrimientos y poblaciones conforme a la ynstruicion que çerca dello os mandamos ynuiar la qual guardareis y hareis q̃ se guarde en todo y por todo como en ella se contiene y ha las personas que ynuiaredes a las dhas poblaciones y nuevos descubrimientos darles eys Vos con los oydores desa audiencia el despacho neçesario conforme a la d̃ha. ynstruicion para que se escusen los daños y desordenes q̃ asta aqui a hauido en nuevos descubrimientos. y sienpre terneis cuidado de sauer como se cunplen las prouisiones e ynstruiciones q̃ se le dieren y como son tratados los naturales de la t̃fra. Adonde fueren dada en ballid. a beinte y nuebe de diciembre de mill y quinientos e cinq^{ta} y siete años

LA PRINCESSA.

yo fran^{co} de ledesma secretario de su catolica mag^t la fize escribir por su mandado

SU ALTEZA en su nonbre.

El Licenciado BRIBIESCA.

El Licenciado DON JUAN SARMIENTO.

El Dotor BAZQUEZ.

El Liçençiado BILLAGOMEZ.

Registrada

OCHOA DE LOYANDO.

por chançiller

JUAN DE ANGUÇIANA.

y halliende de lo contenido en la d̃ha ñra prouision por /otra ñra çedula fecha en ballid. en el d̃ño. dia mes y haño suso d̃ha le tenemos encargado y mandado q̃ de orden como las prouinçias de la florida y punta de Santa elena se ynuien a poblar y que en la d̃ha punta de S^{ta}. elena se haga / Vna poblacion fuerte para q̃ se procure

settlements may be made. And because of the great confidence which we have in you, we have decided to defer to you in this, in order that you, as a person who has the matter before you and can see what is fitting to be done for the service of God our Lord and of ourself and also for the welfare of the land, may order what may seem good to you in the situation. By these presents then, we give your license and faculty, in case it seems to you good, that you may and shall send to make such discoveries and settlements in conformity with the instructions which we ordered sent to you concerning this matter. These instructions you shall observe and cause to be observed in and for all things as expressed therein; to the persons whom you may send to these settlements and new discoveries, you and the judges of that audiencia shall give the necessary commission, in conformity with the said instructions, in order that the injuries and disorders may be avoided which up to this time have occurred in new discoveries. You shall always take care to find out how the orders and instructions which are given to you are complied with, and how the natives of the land to which they may go are treated. Given at Valladolid, December 29, 1557.

THE PRINCESS.

I, Francisco de Ledesma, secretary of his Catholic Majesty, had [the foregoing] written by his command.

HER HIGHNESS, in his name.

Licenciate BRIVIESCA.

Licenciate DON JUAN SARMIENTO.

Doctor VÁZQUEZ.

Licenciate VILLAGÓMEZ.

Registered

OCHOA DE LOYANDO.

By the chancellor,

JUAN DE ANGUCIANO.

Besides what is contained in our foregoing provision, by another cedula of ours, dated at Valladolid on the same day, month, and year aforesaid, we have charged and ordered you to give orders that the provinces of La Florida and the Punta de Santa Elena shall be settled, and that a strong settlement shall be made at the Punta de Santa Elena, so that from it the attempt shall be made by preaching and kind treatment to bring the people of that land

desde ella por uia de predicacion y buenos tratamientos traer a las Jentes de aquella tñra y prouinçias en conoçim^{to}. de nña S^{ta} fee catolica y que con la dña Jente que asi fuere se ynbien algunos Relisiosos para que mediante ellos y su predicacion Vengan en conoçim^{to}. de dios nño señor y biban en puliçia Xpiana. y q̃ para q̃ la dña poblaçion se haga mejor y se guarde en todo lo q̃ se probeyere nonbre por gobernado[r] de la jente que asi fuere Vna persona qual le pareçiere conbenir que sea temeroso de dios nño S^{or}. y celoso de nño serui^o. que los gobierne. y en cunplim^{to}. de lo que ansi por nos le esta encargado y mandado auiendo platicado y comunicado lo suso dño. con los oydores de la dña nña. audiencia y con otras personas despiriençia se tomo por Resoluçion q̃ se ynbiase çierta cantidad de Xente asi de pie como de a caballo a poblar la dña. prouinçia de la florida y pu^{ta} de santa elena y con ella los dños Relisiosos. y porq̃ de proximo con el ayuda [20 a] de dios nño señor Se a echo çierta gente y se a puesto y pone en efeto la dña jornada y por uirtud de la dña facultad a nonbrado ofiçiales de la nña Real hazienda y por gouernador de la Xente q̃ va a poblar las dñas proVinçias a uos don tristan de luna y harellano por la buena Relaçion que a tenido y tiene de vña persona fidelidad y xpianadad y zeloso de nño. Serui^o atento A lo qual por la presente aproVamos y confirmamos el dhõ. nonbram^{to} hecho por el dño. nño Visorrey en uos el dño don tristan. y es nña mrd. *que el tienpo q̃ fuere nña Voluntad seais* / nño gouernador de la xente que se ynuia a la poblaçion de las dñas proui^{as} de la florida y pu^{ta} de santa elena. y lo que asi aueis de tener en gobernacion A de ser y de la demas que adelante fueren y de los naturales de las dñas prouinçias cinquenta leguas mas al poniente de la entrada del dio grande despiritu santo q̃sta en Veinte y nueve grados de altura. echada Vna linea derecha desde la costa de la mar hazia el norte de todas las prouinçias q̃stubiene y declinare hazia la parte de lebante desde la dña linea asi de lo que esta descubierto como de lo demas q̃ descubrieredes y poblaredes conforme a este destrito y sin eçeder del. y como tal nño gouernador tengais cargo y cuidado del Vuen gouierno de las dñas prouinçias y de mirar lo q̃ tocara al serui^o de dios nño señor y nño. y la perpetuacion y conseruacion de los naturales de las dñas prouinçias guardando en

and those provinces to the knowledge of our holy Catholic faith, and that with the people who go thither may be sent a few religious, in order that through them and their preaching [the natives] may come into the knowledge of God our Lord and may live under Christian government; and in order that the said settlement may be the better made, and that all which is ordered may be observed, you shall name as governor of the people who shall go a person who shall seem suitable to you, one fearful of God our Lord and zealous in our service, who shall govern them. In fulfilment of that which has thus been ordered and commanded by us, we having discussed it and communicated concerning it with the judges of our royal audiencia and with other persons of experience, the resolution was taken that there should be sent a certain number of people, both of infantry and of cavalry, to settle the said province of La Florida and the Punta de Santa Elena, and with them the said religious. And since recently by the grace [20 r.] of God a certain number of people have been recruited, and the said expedition has been and is being brought about, and since by virtue of the said faculty [the viceroy] has named officials of the royal treasury, and as governor of the people who are going to settle the said provinces, yourself, Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, because of the good account which he has had and has of your person, your fidelity and Christianity and zeal in our service, in attention thereto by these presents we approve and confirm this nomination made by the viceroy of you the said Don Tristán; and it is our grant that *for the time during which it may be our pleasure you shall be our governor* of the people who are sent to settle the said provinces of La Florida and the Punta de Santa Elena. That which you are thus to hold under your government shall be [these people] and those who may go later and the natives of the said provinces from fifty leagues to the westward from the mouth of the Río Grande de Espíritu Santo, which is in 29 degrees latitude.¹⁰ A straight line being drawn from the seacoast toward the north, [you shall govern] from the said line all the provinces which may be and lie to the eastward thereof, both that which is already discovered therein and the remainder which you may discover and settle within the confines of this district without exceeding it. As such our governor you shall have charge and care of the good government of the said provinces, and you shall see to all that touches the service of God our Lord and our own, and the perpetuation and conservation of the natives of the said

todo la ynstruición o ynstruiciones que ansi por nos como por el dño. nño Visorrey presidente y oidores de la dña nña audiencia / os fueren dadas. sin exceder de lo en ellas conthenido. y mandamos a todos los capitanes Asi de pie como de a cauallo y ha las demas personas q̃ con uos fueren dadas a la dña Jornada y estuvieren en las dñas prouinçias de qualquier estado y condiçion q̃ sean que ayan y tengan a uos el dño. don tristan de luna y harellano por nño gouernador y general de la dña Xente y / os / obedezcan y cunplan Vños mandamientos asi por escrito como por palabra y parezcan a Vños llamami^{os}. a los plazos y so las penas q̃ de nña parte les pusieredes y mandaredes poner las quales nos por la presente les ponemos y os damos poder y facultad para las eXecutar en las personas y bienes de los Rebeldes e ynobedientes y otro si os damos facultad para q̃ por fin y muerte de los capitanes q̃ Van nonbrados podais poner otros en su lugar y rremoberlos [20 b] que como dño. es ban nonbrados auiendo Justa causa para ello. y ansi mismo podais conoçer y conoçcais de todas las causas cebiles y criminales que entre la dña Xente se ofreçiere y acaçiere y entre los naturales de las tñras y pueblos de Vña gouernaçon. y para el conoçim^{to} y determinaçion de las dñas causas podais nonbrar Vn teniente dos o mas los q̃ Vieredes q̃ conbenga y aquellos admouer y poner / otros de nuebo. y en quanto al buen tratamiento de los naturales de las dñas prouinçias ansi mismo guardéis las ynstruiciones q̃ por nos estan dadas a las personas q̃ Van a descubrir y pacificar y poblar tñras nuevas sin exceder de lo en ellas contenido. y mandamos que en el uso y exerçicio del dño cargo de gouernador y general de las dñas tñras no / os sea puesto embargo ni otro ynpedimiento alguno y q̃ todos se conformen con uos y os den y hagan dar el fauor y ayuda que les pidieredes y menester ouieredes sin poner en ello escusa ni otra dilaçion alguna y so las penas q̃ Como dño es les pusieredes q̃ pã las executar en los Rebeldes e ynobidientes y para el uso y exerçicio del dño cargo y lo demas que dño es os damos poder cumplido segun que en tal caso se rrequiere con todas sus yncidençias y dependençias anexidades y conexidades segun que en tal caso se rrequiere y os encargamos que las tñras y proui^{as} q̃ ansi poblaredes y se truxeren y binieren de paz y a nos dar la obidiencia como a

provinces, observing in all things the instruction or instructions which may be given you either by us or by our viceroy, president, and the judges of our royal audiencia, without exceeding what is therein contained. And we command all the captains, both of infantry and of cavalry, and all the persons who may go with you on the expedition, and who may be in the said provinces, in whatsoever state or condition they may be, to have and to hold you, Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, as our governor and general of the said people; and they shall obey you and comply with your orders, both written and oral, and appear at your summons, for the time and under the penalties which in our name you may impose upon them and command them to submit to. [All these your orders] we now by these presents impose upon them, and we give you power and faculty to execute them upon the persons and goods of all rebels and disobedient ones. Furthermore, we give you power, in case of the end and death of the captains who have been appointed, to put others in their places, and you may remove those [20 v] who have been nominated, as has been said, if there is just reason therefor. You may also have, and you shall take, cognizance of all cases civil and criminal which may arise and happen among your people and among the natives of the lands and towns of your government. For the purpose of hearing and deciding such cases, you may appoint a lieutenant, or two or more as you may consider desirable, and you may remove them and put others in their places. In regard to the good treatment of the natives of those provinces, you shall also observe the instructions which have been given by us to those persons who go to discover, pacify, and settle new lands, without exceeding what is contained in these instructions. And we command that in the exercise of your duty as governor and general of the said lands, no embargo or other impediment whatsoever shall be placed upon you, but that everyone shall [act] in agreement with you, give you the help and show you the favor which you may have need of and ask of them, offering no excuse or delay whatever; and, under the penalties already stated, you may cause these instructions to be enforced against rebels and disobedient ones. For the exercise of this office and all the rest herein specified we give you full power as may be required in such case, with all its concomitant, dependent, annexed, and connected implications, as in such case required. And we charge you that the lands and provinces which you shall thus colonize and which shall be brought and come into peace and obedience to

su Rey y señor natural los anpareis en nño R^{al} nombre y las defendais y ha los naturales dellas para q̃ no les sean echos ningunos agrauios ni otros malos tratamientos por ningunas personas ni entren en ellas ni les tomen ni / ocupen solar y diçiendo que les perteneçen la dña gouernaçion ni por otra bia ninguna. y por quanto Vos el dño don tristan de luna y harellano en nño Real nonbre os estan encomendados ciertos pueblos de yndios en la nueva españa y considerando que por nos seruir hazeis la dña Jornada y hacetastes el dño cargo es nña mñd y mandamos que no os sean quitados ni rremouidos los dños yndios y los tengais asta tanto que nos seamos seruidos de probeer otra cosa dada en la çiudad de mex^{co}. A treinta dias del mes de março [21 a] de mill y quinientos y cinq^{ta}. y nueve Años.

Don LUIS DE BELASCO.

yo antonio de turçios Secretario mior de la audiencia y chançilleria R^{al} de la nueva españa y gobernacion della por su mag^t la fize escribir por su mandado e de su VisRey e gouernador.

ANTONIO DE TURÇIOS.

Registrada.

XPŌBAL PEREZ DE LUÇANA.

chançiller

PERO ORDONEZ.

q̃s fecha y sacada corregida y conçertada: Con la dña probision oreginal de berbun ad berbun segun y como En ella se contiene siendo presentes por t^{os} a la ber sacar corregir y conçertar Con el dño oreginal sancho Velez y Ju^o docampo y fauian de loria. En fee de lo qual yo Ju^o de uargas escribano deste exercito y campo por su m^t. nonbrado por el ylles. señor angel de uillafana gov^{or} destas probinçias de la florida la fize sacar y saque por m^{do} del dño. señor gouernador segund y como En ella se contiene y por ende lo firme de mi nonbre que es a tal En testimonio de uerdad

JHOAN DE UARGAS

esn^o nonbrado.

[Rubricado]

ourself as their king and natural lord, you shall protect and defend in our royal name; and you shall defend the natives thereof, that no injuries may be done to them nor any other evil by any persons. They shall not enter [your provinces] nor take nor occupy any dwelling place, claiming that the government belongs to them or under any other pretext whatever. And inasmuch as you, Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, have in our royal name been granted as *encomiendas*²⁰ certain towns of Indians in New Spain, and considering that you are making this expedition in our service, and that you have accepted this duty, it is our will and we do order that these Indians shall not be removed or taken from you, but that you shall keep them until such times as we may be pleased to order otherwise. Given in the City of Mexico on March 30, 1559.

[21 r]

Don LUIS DE VELASCO.

I, Antonio de Turcios, chief secretary of the royal audiencia and chancellery of New Spain and the government thereof for his Majesty, caused [the foregoing] to be written at his command and that of his governor and viceroy.

ANTONIO DE TURCIOS.

Registered,

CRISTÓBAL PÉREZ DE LUZANA.

Chancellor,

PEDRO ORDÓÑEZ.

Made, copied, corrected, and compared with the original provision word for word in accordance with the contents thereof. Present as witnesses to see it copied, corrected, and compared with the original, Sancho Vélez, Juan de Ocampo, and Fabián de Loria. In witness whereof I, Juan de Vargas, notary of this army and camp for his Majesty, appointed by the illustrious Ángel de Villafañe, governor of these provinces of La Florida, caused it to be copied and copied it by command of the said governor according to and as its contents are; and finally I signed it with my name as appears below in testimony of the truth.

JUAN DE VARGAS,

Notary appointed.

[Rubric]

[21 b, 22 a y 22 b en blanco]

[23 a]

†

[VELASCO A LUNA, TLASCALA, 12 DE MAYO DE 1559]

Ylustre Se^{or}

/aquy cumunyq̃ con .V. mrd q̃ me pareçya q̃ conuernya enbyar persona a Jalapa q̃ tomase muestra a la Jente de personas y caballos y q̃ hecho esto estubyses ally para abyar la Jente y tenerla en Raçon en tanto q̃ V. mrd la mãda embarcar/y confyando q̃ anjel de bylla[faña] lo hara mejor q̃ otro de los q̃ aca q̃dan sy se hallare V. md en Jalapa al tpo q̃ llegue mãdara a la Jente q̃ le den ell alarde y que en avsencya de V. mrd le obedezcan y cūplan lo q̃ les ordenare en el yrse a embarcar y en lo demas q̃ ally se ofrezia y pareseme que llegado byllafaña sera byen [23 b] q̃ V. mrd se baya al puerto a probeer en lo de la embarcaçyon para q̃ se haga como conbenga y con la presteça posyble pues vee V. mrd cuãto ynporta no perder tpo/. diçenme q̃es mucha la canalla q̃ la jente lleba de mestyços e mulatos y yndios myre V. mrd q̃ los mas destos no serbyran syno de poner en cōfusyon el cāpo y de comer los bastymētos pareceme q̃ bastara q̃ se llebe otra tãta jente de serbycyo como ban soldados y q̃ no debe bajar de Jalapa mas de la Jente q̃ se a denbarcar y ěcargos a V. mrd q̃ por serbycyo de nro Señor. / no permyta q̃ senbarq̃ mujer soltera sospechã/pues sabe cuãto se ofende y q̃ un pecado [24 a] mortal publyco basta a ser cavsã q̃ vn ejercyto se pyerda /. anme abysado q̃ ell alferez de don alonso de castylla saco vna mujer moça de la puebla y dycenme q̃es cantora y q̃l capytan no le pesa q̃ baya en la compaĩa rremediolo .V. mrd / . tanbyen me an dho q̃ la de porras q̃ llaman la lechera y su hyja estubyerō en tepeaca q̃s la q̃ nos ynportunaba en mejyco y yba en la compaĩa de don alonso mãde .V. mrd haçer ynquysyçyon sy ban alla y hagalas bolver y a la vyeja se le podrya dar vn jubon para la buelta.

los ofyçyales de la floryda tesorero y cõtador llegaron ayer aquy y todo el hatto me dyçen q̃ llega oy [24 b] /y mañana a la puebla

[21 v, 22 r, and 22 v blank]

[23 r]

†

[VELASCO TO LUNA, TLASCALA, MAY 12, 1559]

Illustrious Sir:

I wrote to you from here that it seemed to me desirable to send some person to Jalapa to take the muster-roll of the men and horses, and that after he had done so, he should stay there to provision the people and take charge of them until you should order them to embark. Confident that Ángel de Villafañe will do this better than any of those who remain here [I have sent him], and if you are in Jalapa when he arrives, you will order the people to give him the muster-roll and in your absence obey him and comply with his orders upon going to embark and in everything else which may occur there. It also seems to me that when Villafañe arrives it will be well [23 v] for you to go to the port to give orders concerning the embarkation in order that it may be properly done with all possible promptness; for you can see how important it is not to lose any time. They tell me that the *canaille* of halfbreeds, mulattoes, and Indians whom the people are taking with them is very numerous; you will note that the greater part of these will serve no purpose save to put the camp in confusion and eat up the supplies. It seems to me that it would be sufficient to take only as many serving people as there are soldiers who go, and that no more of the people should go down from Jalapa than are to embark. And I charge you for the service of his Majesty not to permit an unmarried woman of suspicious character to embark, for you know how much she will offend, and that one [24 r] public mortal sin is enough to cause an army to be lost. They have informed me that the ensign of Don Alonso de Castilla took a young woman from the town, and they tell me that she is a singer, and that the captain does not object to her going in the company. This you will remedy. They also tell me that the woman of Porras whom they call La Lechera and her daughter have been in Tepeaca. She is the one who importuned us in Mexico, and went in the company of Don Alonso. Please find out whether they intend to go [on the expedition], and make them come back. The old woman may be given a waist for the return journey.

The officials [of the treasury] for La Florida, the treasurer and the accountant, arrived here yesterday; they tell me that the entire herd of animals will reach Puebla [24 v] today and to-

y el lunes partyran de ally y las cynchas y sortyjas para embarcar los caballos gran cō la delyjencia posyble

/como trate aquy con V. mrd pareçe q̃ sy los nabyos no pueden llebar toda la carga q̃ ay de bastymētos armas y Ropa ques menos yncōbynente q̃ lo q̃ q̃dare pa llebar el segundo byaje q̃ sea Ropa y no bastymēto y asy lo debe V. mrd ordenar procurando q̃ se llebe todo el mas hatō de soldados q̃ sea posyble no enbolucrādo mucho los nabyos

la botyca lleban los ofycyales byen cunplida y por el medycō e eūbyado vn subcesor [?] le hare yr y sy ūo bynyere se enbyara otro / [25 a] .V. mrd me de abyso como llego a Jalapa y hallo la Jente dyº tellez byno ayer aquy y yba a la puebla el lunes partyra dally / . don carlos esta bueno y parece q̃ se halla byen en my compaña .V. mrd pyerda del cuydado q̃ se la hare tan buena como a propyo hyjo /. guarde nro señor la ylustre persona de .V. mrd de tascala vyernes a XII de mayo /.

Servydor de .V. mrd

Don LUYs DE VE^{co}.

[Rubricado]

[25 b]

†

[Direccion:] Al Yll^e señor don tristan de arellano. gouernador y ge[roto: neral] de la tñra de la florida

Virrey [Hay un sello estampado sobre cera.]

[Endosado:] Del Virrey Rda en quince [tachado] de mayo hecha [tachado] del dño [tachado: mes del año de 1559?]

[Endosado:] xij de mayo de lxx

[26 a]

†

[VELASCO A LUNA, MÉXICO, 25 DE OCTUBRE DE 1559]

Yll^e. señor

cā del Virrey q̃ V^r tracta de las cosas deste descubrim^o y de las prouisiones de los bastimentos / es dupp^{da}

Las q̃ V.S. me escriuió con luis daça En XXIII^o de agosto del puerto de Santa maria de Ochuse Resçui En siete de Setiembre y a los XII tuue la nueua de Su llegada al puerto que me dio tanto contentami^o como pena ver la que .V.S. me escriuió con felipe boquin a XXVIII^o de septiembre. la barca en q̃ Vinieron el y los demas maestros y pilotos llego en Seis dias dende ese puerto al de San Juan de Vlva y ayer XIII del Pésente Resçui la que .V.S. me escriuió y antes que diga my sentimiento rrespondere A las

morrow, that they will set out from there on Monday, and that the cinches and rings for embarking the horses will be sent on with all possible diligence.

As I said to you here, it appears that if the ships cannot carry all the cargo of supplies, arms, and clothing which is here, it would be least inconvenient to leave here the clothing to be taken on the second voyage rather than the supplies. This you should order done, endeavoring to take all the soldiers possible but not overcrowding the ships.

The officials [of the treasury] are taking a well stocked supply of drugs, and for the physician I have sent a successor.²¹ I will have him go, and if he will not, another will be sent. [25 r] Please inform me as to how you reached Jalapa and how you found the people. Diego Téllez came here yesterday and was to go to Puebla and will set out from there on Monday. Don Carlos is well and seems happy in my company. Do not worry about him, for I will take as good care of him as if he were my own son. May our Lord protect your illustrious person. Tlaxcala, Friday, May 12, [1559].

Your servant,

DON LUIS DE VELASCO.

[Rubric]

[25 v]

†

[Addressed:] To the illustrious Don Tristán de Arellano, governor and ge[torn—neral] of the land of La Florida.

The Viceroy. [There is a seal stamped on wax.]

[Indorsed:] From the viceroy; received on the 15th [blotted] of May, written [blotted] of the said [blotted: month of the year 1559?].

[Indorsed:] May 12, 1560.

[26 r]

†

[VELASCO TO LUNA, MEXICO, OCTOBER 25, 1559²²]

Illustrious Sir:

The letters which you wrote me by Luis Daza²³ on August 24 from the port of Santa María de Ochuse I received on September 7, and on the twelfth I had the news of your arrival at the port. It gave me as much contentment as the pain I felt on seeing what you wrote me by Felipe Boquín on September 28. The bark in which he and the other masters and pilots came arrived after six days between that port [and] San Juan de Ulúa. Yesterday, the thirteenth instant, I received the letter you wrote me, and before

A letter from the viceroy which treats of the affairs of this discovery and of the supplies of food. It is a duplicate.

primeras y digo q̃ Vista la rrelaçion que .V.S. me haze de la nauegacion q̃ hizo el armada paresçe que n̄o Señor fue seruido de guialles a ese puerto y que sy no se diera el bordo a la mar que se dio Se tomara algunos dias antes q̃ si lo azertaran a hazer los pilotos Se ahorrara tiempo y trabajos y la perdida de algºs cauºs e pudiera ser que la Pdida de los nauios. pero pues n̄o señor lo / ordeno asy no ay q̃ dezir syno dalle muchas graçias y pedille que en lo que rresta de hazer guie a .V.S. y le alumbre y ayude lo qual quisiera yo poder hazer con my P̄sona y crea .V.S. de my que syento tanto Sus trabajos como sy yo los pasase espero en n̄o Señor que el dara el galardón dellos en esta Vida y en la otra. /

V E Visto lo q̃ .V.S. me escriue y el maestre de campo y capitanes la buena orden y diligencia q̃ .V.S. en todo a puesto y pone y el gran satisfecho que tienen de su prudencia y Valor y lo mismo me escriue el padre fray Pº de feria y los demas Religiosos. /

V A la ora que luis daza llevo prouey q̃ se rreparase el galeon en que Vino conforme al parescer de gonçalo gayon piloto el qual boluio luego al puerto a entender en ello y tambien se tomo otro nauio mediano Pà que los dos con la presteza posible lleuen los bastimentos q̃ .V.S. pide an estado y estan los camynos tan malos de esta çiudad a la Veracruz que no se an podido llevar con la presteza que quisiera A Se puesto y ponese la diligencia posyble. / La memoria de lo que e Pºueydo q̃ se lleue sera con esta y porque no se de çierto lo que los nauios podran llevar me Remyto a la q̃ ymbiara el bachiller martinez alcalde my^{or} de la çiudad E puerto de la Veracruz el qual esta en el puerto entendiendo en despachar estos dos nauyos creo que plaçiendo a n̄o señor saldrán del puerto sy les haze tiempo de quatro A diez de nouiembre lleualos a cargo gonçalo gayon por ser buen piloto E saber bien el camyno y el otro nauio creo lleuara a cargo Vn hermano suyo q̃ me dicen es buen piloto temo no les suçada alguna desgraçia yendo en el tiempo q̃ Van y platicado con pilotos y marineros diestros A paresçido que el camyno [26 b] que deben hazer es el que hazen

I express my sorrow I will reply to the first ones and say: that having seen the account which you give me of the voyage which the fleet made, it seems that our Lord was pleased to guide the ships to that port. If you had not gone out toward the open sea as you did, you would have reached it some days sooner; if the pilots had been able to do so they would have saved time and labor and the loss of some of the horses, and possibly the loss of the ships. But since our Lord ordained it thus there is nothing to be said except to give Him many thanks, and pray Him that in what remains for you to do He will guide, enlighten, and assist you. That, I could wish to do myself in person, and you must believe that I grieve for your troubles as much as though I were passing through them myself. I trust in our Lord that He will give you your reward for them in this life and the next.

I have seen what you and the *maestre de campo* and the captains write me concerning the good order and diligence which you have and are maintaining, and the great satisfaction they have in your prudence and valor. Fray Pedro de Feria and the other religious write me the same thing.

At the hour when Luis Daza arrived I ordered that the galleon in which he came should be repaired in conformity with the opinion of Gonzalo Gayón the pilot. He at once returned to the port to undertake the work, and another medium-sized ship was also taken so that the two might with all possible speed carry the supplies for which you ask. The roads from this city to Vera Cruz have been and are so bad that it has not been possible to carry [supplies] with the promptness I should like. All diligence is and has been observed. The memoir of what I have ordered to be taken will be with this letter, and as I do not know of a certainty what the ships may be able to carry, I refer you to the memoir which will be sent by the Bachiller Martínez, *alcalde mayor*²⁴ of the city and port of La Vera Cruz. He is at the port engaged in dispatching these two ships. I believe that, if it pleases our Lord, they will leave the port, if the weather is favorable, between the fourth and the tenth of November. They are commanded by Gonzalo Gayón because he is a good pilot and knows the route well. The other ship will, I believe, be commanded by a brother of his who they say is a good pilot. I fear that some mishap may befall them, going at the time they do, and after conversing with skilful pilots and mariners, it has seemed to me that the route [26 v] which they should take is the same as that which the ships take between here

las naos de aquí a la hauana y que si el tiempo les fuerça tomen aquel puerto /o el de matanças donde Se rreparen asta que le haga tiempo Pà yr a tomar ese y que sy el tiempo no les fuere muy contrario q̃ hagan su Viaje sin mudar derrota. / Vista la nesçesidad q̃ .V.S. me escriue tiene de bastimentos me paresçio auenturar estos dos nauios conuiene que lleuandolos nño señor en saluamento en descargando den la buelta porque pueden hazer otro camyno en el mes de hebrero / o março con parte de los caualllos y otras cosas q̃ Se an de lleuar. Si en tanto Vinyeran nauios de españa tomarse a alguno Pà q̃ les ayuede [*sic*] a lleuar algunos caualllos y bastimentos que agora no Van. Luis daza esta de buena Voluntad Pà boluer con el socorro no partira hasta que estos dos nauios sean de buelta /.

Ojo V Los cien caualllos que quedaron de los soldados me dizen que estan buenos y bien tratados Dizenme que ay entre ellos / ocho / o diez tan Viejos y mancos que no son Pà yr la jornada ymbiarSe an en su lugar otros y los V^{os} de esta çiuudad que tienen alla hijos E hermanos y parientes y amigos quieren ymbialles caualllos y esta hecha memoria de mas de çinquenta sy houiere nauios en que puedan yr todos ymbiarSe an y sino quedaran para quando plaçiendo a dios Se ayan de ymbiar ganados mayores por tierra aunque paresçe gran rrodeo y mucha dilaçion y que no se podra hazer Sino con gran costa. tomandole de las çacatecas o las mynas de Sant martin y aca paresçe que se haria mas breue y mas seguro yendo por la costa de aquí al rrio del espiritu santo Si houiese manera de poderse llegar a la orilla de esta Pte y por la de alla y ase de mirar que ya que el rrio no se pudiese pasar por la grandeza y furia que tiene Si se podrian pasar los ganados y caualllos en barcas de Vna orilla/a otra por la costa. V.S. mire en ello y lo comunyque con las Psonas q̃ alla ay de prudencia y esperiencia y me auise con estos nauios de lo que paresçiere pues habra tiempo/.

V Por la q̃ .V.S. me escriuio A XXVIII^o de Septiembre paresçe que se perdieron çinco nauios de gauia con el galeon de andonaguin y la Vna de las tres barcas brauo debio ser el huracan pues en tan buen puerto hizo tal rriza. /

V dize V.S. que Vista la nesçesidad que tiene de bastimentos A mudado consejo pues le fuerça la nesçesidad a ello y que dexando

and La Havana. If the weather compels them they may make the latter port or that of Matanzas, where they may remain until the weather becomes favorable for them to set sail and make your port. If the weather is not very contrary they may make their voyage without changing their course. Having seen what you write of your necessity for supplies it seemed wise to me to hazard these two ships; it will be fitting, if our Lord brings them safe to port, that they return as soon as they are unloaded, so that they may make another voyage in the month of February or March with part of the horses and other things which have to be taken. If in the meantime any ships come from Spain I shall take one of them to help carry some of the horses and supplies which do not go now. Luis Daza is in good humor to return with the succor [but] he will not set out until these two ships have returned.

They tell me that the hundred horses which belong to the soldiers and were left behind are well and are being well treated. They tell me that among them are eight or ten so old and lame that they are not fit to make the journey. Others are to be sent in their places, and the residents of this city who have sons, brothers, relatives, and friends there want to send them horses; a memoir has been made of more than fifty; if there are ships in which they can go they will all be sent. If not, they will wait until, God willing, cattle are to be sent by land, although this seems a great undertaking, with much delay, which cannot be performed save at great cost. It would seem that by taking them from Los Zatecas or the mines of San Martín and about there, it might be done most quickly and safely by going along the coast from here to the Río del Espíritu Santo if there are any means of being able to reach the shore from this side, and from the opposite one. It remains to be found out—since the river cannot be crossed because of its size and fury—whether the horses and cattle can be taken in barks from one bank to the other at the coast. Please look into this and discuss it with the persons of prudence and experience who are there, and advise me by these ships as to what you think, for there will be time.

N.B.

From the letter which you wrote me on September 28 it seems that five ships with main topsails, the galleon of Andonaguín, and one of the three barks were lost. The hurricane must have been terrible to have worked such destruction in such a good port.

You say that in view of your need of supplies you have changed your mind, since necessity compels you, and that, leaving some

hasta Sesenta soldados con el capitán Juan xaramillo en ese puerto piensa entrar con el rrestante del exerçito A buscar poblado donde Se pueda Sustentar la gente y pueda socorrer a los que en el dexare a me paresçido bien pues la nesçesidad fuerça a ello deseo que estos dos nauios llegasen antes q̃ .V.S. partiese porque se ayudase de los bastimentos q̃ lleuan asy Pà lo de adelante como para dexar en el puerto y porque podria ser que/ouiese entrado Scriuo a juan xaramillo que luego como los nauios lleguen de auiso a .V.S. syendo posyble y tambien le escriuo que demas del seruicio que [27 a] A hecho a S mag^t. que en quedar alli en lugar de .V.S. tengo entendido que no habra falta y el puerto estara Seguro, paresçeme Si esta llega a tiempo q̃ Se pueda tratar dello q̃ si .V.S. halla tierra donde la gente se pueda sustentar hasta que pase el ynuerno y de aca Vayan los caualllos y las rrodelas y çeladas E otras cosas q̃ Vienen en la memoria q̃ No Se pueden hazer por la breuedad del tiempo que no se aparte mas distançia del puerto de lo que fuere nescesario Pà Sustentar la gente que dios mediante sy estos dos nauios bueluen en henero Seran de buelta en março o abril a lo mas largo y lleuarian hasta çinquenta caualllos y algun ganado biuo y parte de las cosas que agora no Van de las q̃ .V.S. pide E hecho este camyno me paresçe que sera bien q̃ Vayan de ese puerto a la hauana a traer el ganado my^{or} que pudieren y algunos caualllos /o yeguas y al gouernador de alli he escrito que para este tiempo los haga tener prestos que el que fuere lleuara dineros Pà pagallos y tengo tratado con luis daça q̃ Vaya del puerto auiendo puesto en rrecado lo que lleuare a la hauana con los nauios por ello y dios mediante sy el tiempo da lugar el año de Sesenta haran estos dos nauios y alguno de los que se esperan de españa tres caminos al puerto con ganados mayores y menores y con la my^{or} Ptè de las cosas q̃ .V.S. pide q̃ Se an de lleuar por mar /.

V bien Veo q̃ Pà que esa tierra se proueyese de presto de copia de ganados y caualllos que conuenya lleuar la mi^{or} P^{te} por tierra pero el camino es tan largo y tan dificultoso de andar y falto de aguas en algunas Ptes y en otras grandes Rios y çienagas que estoy en duda sy se podra lleuar y para entender sy se halla camyno y

sixty soldiers with Captain Juan Xaramillo²⁵ in that port, you are thinking of going inland with the rest of the army to search for a town where the people can be sustained and [from which] you may be able to succor those left at the port. This has seemed well to me, for necessity compels you to do it. I hope that these two ships may arrive before you go, that they may, with the supplies which they carry, assist you in your forward movement as well as [those you] leave at the port. But as it may be that you will have already set out, I am writing to Juan Xaramillo that as soon as the ships arrive he shall send you word if possible. I am also writing him that, in addition to the service which [27 r] he has rendered his Majesty, his remaining there in your place has made me confident that there will be no failure and the port will be secure. It seems to me that (if this arrives in time for you to discuss it) if you find a land where the people may be sustained until the winter passes and until the horses, shields, helmets, and the other things which are set down in the memoir but cannot be made for lack of time, go [forward to you], that you ought not to go farther from the port than may be necessary to sustain the people. For by God's help if these two ships come back in January they will return [to you] in March or April at the latest, and they will carry as many as fifty horses, some live cattle, and part of the things for which you ask that are not going now. When they have made this voyage it seems to me that it would be well for them to go from your port to La Havana to take you what cattle they can and some horses or mares. I have written to the governor there to have them ready by that time, and that he who goes will take the money to pay for them. And I have arranged with Luis Daza that he shall go from the port as soon as he is provided with what he should take to La Havana with the ships for the purpose; and by God's help if the weather permits, in the year '60 these two ships and one of those expected from Spain will make three voyages to your port with large and small cattle, and with the greater part of the things which you ask to have sent by sea.

I see clearly that if that land is to be promptly supplied with an abundance of cattle and horses it would be desirable that most of them should be taken overland, but the road is so long, so difficult to travel, and so lacking in water in some parts and with such great rivers and swamps in others, that I am in doubt whether they can be so taken. For the purpose of finding out whether there be a road and what route to follow, God willing, [I shall

qual se deue llevar dios mediante por el mes de diziembre/o henero
 XXXIII^o. /o. XXX. de cauallo Con la comyda nesçesaria Pà
 Tres/o quatro meses y que calen la tierra hasta doçientas leguas
 mas adentro de las çacatecas la buelta de esa tierra pasando los
 rrios por lo alto por las faldas de las montañas y que Visto bien
 la tierra bueluan a salir por abaxo entre los Valles de panuco y
 ogitipa Pà entender qual camyno Sera mejor q̃ Se tome y en el
 entretanto que estos Van y Vienen Se rrecogieran los caualllos y
 yeguas y ganados mayores que se houieren de llevar y se pondran
 en queretaro y san miguel a Tiempo que Pà de aquí A Vn año
 dios mediante comyença a camynar Si se hallare tierra por
 donde sea posyble yr hasta topar con el rrio del espiritu santo
 por Pte q̃ le puedan pasar y a descubrir el camyno creo q̃ yran
 Juan de busto y muñoz el compañero de antonyo de loma en lo de
 las Plàs q̃ hasta agora an ganado poco en la contratacion el Vno
 y el otro y las demas personas que ouieren de yr Seran las que
 conuengan en el entretanto que esto por aca Se [27 b] pone en
 orden y auia .V.S. me dara auiso en que parte esta y que trecho del
 Rio del Spiritu Santo y si conuerna que la gente que fuere con los
 ganados y cau's pasen donde estuuire / o Se bueluan de alli esto
 me paresçe que se deue de hazer conforme a la nesçesydad que
 ouiere de gente porque si a de ser gente que A de quedar en la
 tierra seran soldados y personas que aca no tengan syno lo q̃ lleua-
 ren y si an de boluer seran algunos corregidores y Psonas que aca
 tienen algun entretenymiento y creo yra por prinçipal Juan de
 busto / o lope de arellano y si los que fueren a descubrir el camyno
 hallaren que no Se puede andar por falta de agua /o de otros
 ynconuinentes notables auisare a .V.S. E doblare lo q̃ se ouiere
 de ymbiar la mar/

V Vi lo q̃ V.S. me escriuio de lo que suçedio al maestre de campo
 y al capitan aluaro nieta en la entrada que hizieron por el rrio
 arriba y como el padre Vicario fray p^o de feria Se huuo tan piado-
 samente con los y[n]dios e yndias q̃ se tomaron que fue Pte que no
 se traxesen ante .V.S. y que fue ocasyon de no hallarse manteny-
 mientos en aquel pueblo y pues el traellos no era para hazelles
 mal Sino bien y para darselo asy A entender y para tomar lengua

send out] in the month of December or January twenty-four or thirty horsemen with rations necessary for three or four months, to explore the land for two hundred leagues above Los Zacatecas; returning from that land by crossing the rivers on the heights of the mountain slopes, after investigating the country well, they will come out again below, between the valleys of Pánuco and Ogitipa,²⁶ in order to find out which route will be the best to take. In the interval while these men are going and returning, the horses and mares and large cattle which are to be sent will be collected and placed in Querétaro and San Miguel in time so that a year from now, God willing, they may begin to travel provided a route be found over which it is possible to go until they strike the Río del Espíritu Santo at a place where they can cross it. I think that for the purpose of finding the route Juan de Busto and Muñoz the partner of Antonio de Luna²⁷ in the matter of the *plas*²⁸ will go, for up to now neither one has made very much money in the business. The others who will go will be suitable persons. In the meantime, while this is being arranged [27 v] and provided for here, you will give me information as to where you are, what the distance is from the Río del Espíritu Santo, and whether or not the people who go with the cattle and horses should go [across] to where you are or return from there. This it seems to me should depend upon what kind of people may be needed. For if they are to be people who are to remain in the land, they ought to be soldiers and persons who have nothing here except what they carry with them. But if they are to return, there should be [among them] some corregidores and persons who have some employment here. I believe that the leader will be Juan de Busto²⁹ or Lope de Arellano.³⁰ If those who go to discover the road find that it cannot be traveled for lack of water or other notable impediments, I will notify you, and I will double the number [of animals] to be sent by sea.

N.B.

I saw what you wrote me about what happened to the *maestre de campo* and to Captain Álvaro Nieto on the expedition which they made up the river, and how the father vicar, Fray Pedro de Feria, was so merciful with the Indian men and women who were captured that he opposed their being brought to you, and that this was the reason why no provisions were found in that town. Inasmuch as it was intended to do them no harm by bringing them, but good, and for the purposes of making them understand this and to acquire the language of the country, it was a

de la tierra yerro fue soltallos nesçesario Sera como V.S. dize Vn moderado y templado rrigor sin que se exçeda y haziendoles ante todas cosas las amonestaciones que su mag^t manda e .V.S. lleuo por ynstruçion que ese exerçito no a de peresçer de hambre porque los yndios no les quieran dar el mantenymiento porque es asy que tenyendo nesçesidad como la ay se les puede tomar dexandoles lo nesçesario Pà Su sustentaçion y demas desto Se puede defender y ofender de los que tomaren armas contra el exerçito e ympidieren la predicacion del santo euangelio y esto sabe bien el padre Vicario / despues q̃ .V.S. se fue A Venydo a esta çiuad Vn libro de fray domyngo de soto que trata de esto sy le pudiere auer ymbialle he en estas naos y sino llevarle a el fator luis daça. anme dicho que se an tirado algunos arcabuçes por alto en rrespuesta de las flechas de los yndios paresçeme q̃ se debe escusar tirallos quanto sea posyble pero quando sea nesçesario y conuenga Razon es que se tiren de manera que teman mas que el trueno. V.S. se aya en esto y en todo lo demas con la templança prudencia y animo que de su persona se conosçe y como Viere que conuiene al seruicio de dios nro señor y al de Su mag^d y a la conseruacion de Su exerçito y gente./

V dize .V.S. q̃ Vista la nescesidad en que estaua espeçialmente de los ganados y caualllos que el capitan baltasar de Sotelo Se ofresçio dexando alla su hato de Venyr a Soliçitar el socorro y fue açertado no Venyr porque para cōmigo no es menester Soliçitud porque ninguna cosa tengo por delante de los/ojos como Socorrer a .V.S. y a su gente con lo que touiere y pudiere y es çierto que de quantas Pdidas y trabajos me an suçedido que no an sydo pocos nynguna cosa E [28 a] Sentido tanto Como la perdida de los nauios y bastimentos y que quisiera poderlo Remediar con my sangre y Vida y creo que he exçedido en el sentymyento al q̃ .V.S. pudo tener pero considerado que nro señor lo permytio por nros pecados conuiene dalle gracias por lo hecho y tener buen animo en lo porVenir E porque no fuese solo el marques del Valle el que echo los nauios al traues quando entro en esta tierra P[er]mytio nro señor que ay Suçedyese otro tanto Pà q̃ solo en el se confie y asy espero que mediante su diuina Voluntad A de suçeder tambien en esa tierra como en esta y en tanto q̃ su mag^t me touiere en este cargo y touiere Vida .V.S. sea çierto que la prinçipal

mistake to set them free. It will be necessary as you say to use a moderate and temperate rigor, without excesses, above all things giving the natives the admonitions which his Majesty commands and which you took with you as instructions. For your army must not perish from hunger because the Indians do not want to give it food. Thus in case of necessity, such as exists, you may take it from them, leaving them what is necessary for their sustenance. Moreover you may act on the defensive and offensive against those who take up arms against the army and impede the preaching of the holy gospel; this the father vicar knows very well. Since you went, there has come to this city a book by Fray Domingo de Soto³¹ which treats of this matter. If one can be had I will send you a copy by these ships, and if not the factor Luis Daza will take you one. They tell me that a few arquebuses have been fired in the air in reply to the arrows of the Indians; it seems to me that you ought to avoid shooting at them as much as possible, but when it is necessary and fitting, it is right that they be fired upon in such a way that they will fear more than the noise. You will act in this and in all other things with your well-known temperance, prudence, and spirit, and as you see will conduce to the service of God our Lord and of his Majesty and to the preservation of your army and people.

N.B.

You say that, in view of the necessity in which you are, especially of cattle and horses, Captain Baltazar Sotelo offered to leave his command there and come to solicit aid. It was wise that he did not come, as no petition is necessary with me, for I have no purpose in view so important as giving aid to you and your people with all I have and in every way I can. It is true that in all the losses and all the troubles which have befallen me, which have not been few, I have regretted nothing [28 r] so much as the loss of the ships and supplies. I wish I could remedy that with my life and blood, and I believe that I have felt it more keenly than you can have done. But considering that our Lord permitted it for our sins, it is fitting to give Him thanks for what He has done and keep a good spirit in the future. And since it was not only the marquis del Valle who sank his vessels when he entered this land, our Lord permitted that another such event should occur there in order that we should trust in Him alone. And so I hope that by His divine will things will turn out in that land as they have in this; and while his Majesty keeps me in this position and I have life you may be sure that the principal thing in which

cosa en que me ocupare sera en socorrer a .V.S. y a su exercito con todo aquello que pudiere E touiere como he dicho y asi podra .V.S. certificallo a todos esos caualleros y hijosdalgo y para que .V.S. entienda y les de a entender lo que e negoçiado cõ su mag^t en su fauor le ymbio vn treslado de la que su mag^t mando rrespõder a otra mya en que les haze m̃ de la parte de los tributos en que los yndios se tasaren conforme al rrepartymiento q̃ yo hiziere perpetuamente Pà ellos y sus suçesores y no tenyendo suçesor lo puedan dexar por Vna /o dos Vidas a quien quisyeren y por bien touieren. y aunque su mag^d me a cometido este Repartimy^o Se a de hazer como .V.S. lo ordenare y le paresçiere prefiriendo a las Psonas principales y de cargo que lleuo en su compaña espeçialmente a jorje çeron caruajal a quien es rrazon que le quepa la mejor suerte despues de la de .V.S. los demas capitanes y gente de cargo paresçe que se deuen ygualar bien veo que trato temprano de esto Scriuolo por dar notiçia a .V.S. de lo que Su mag^t A proueido y tambien porque .V.S. Vaya dando la traça que le paresçiere y para que con tiempo me pueda auisar de lo que se debe hazer/

Ojo

V tambien manda Su mag^t como Vera por su carta q̃ .V.S. ponga en las proui^{as} E pueblos que dieren la obediencia all̃s mayores y corregidores Pà que tengan en Justiçia a los naturales y les enseñen las cosas espirituales y temporales Juntamente con los Religiosos y que a estas Psonas los yndios les den lo nesçesario Pà Su Sustentacion y asi lo podra .V.S. proueer E Su mag^t promete como vera por su carta que sera guardado y cumplido lo q̃ çerca del rreprtimi^o yo / ordenare / hasta agora en los descubrimy^{os} conquistas que en yndias se an hecho Su mag^t No Se a alargado A hazer tanta md como a .V.S. y a ese exercito haze plega a ño Señor que la trr^a se paçifique y pueble y los naturales vengán en conocimy^{to} de ñra santa fee que si esto A el fin que esperamos creo que en esta Vida y en la otra Seran bien rremunerados los trabajos que de presente Se ofresçen / quando luis daza Vaya lleuara la carta / original de Su mag^t Respondi a ella besandole Sus rreales [28 b] Pies y manos de parte de .V.S. y de ese exercito y mia por

I shall busy myself will be in succoring you and your army in all that I can and with all that I possess, as I have said. Of this you may assure all those gentlemen and hidalgos; and in order that you may understand and cause them to understand what I have arranged for with his Majesty in their favor, I am sending you a transcript of the letter which his Majesty ordered sent in answer to one of mine. In it he makes a grant to them of a part of the tributes which are to be levied upon the Indians in conformity with the *repartimiento*³² which I am to make in perpetuity for them and their heirs, or, they having no heirs, they may leave [the repartimientos] for one or two lives to whomever they wish and consider proper. Although his Majesty has confided this repartimiento to me, it is to be made in whatever way you may order and as may seem good to you, preferring the principal persons and those in command whom you took in company with you. Especially [deserving is] Jorge Cerón Carvajal,³³ to whom it is only right that the greater share should be given after yourself. The other captains and persons in command should, I think, have equal shares. I well realize that I am dealing with this matter early, but I am writing this to inform you of what his Majesty has ordered, and also that you may proceed to draw up whatever plan may seem suitable to you, in order that you may advise me in time what should be done.

N.B.

His Majesty also commands, as you will see in his letter, that you place *alcaldes mayores* and *corregidores* in the provinces and towns which give their allegiance, in order that they, together with the religious, may preserve the natives in justice and teach them spiritual and temporal things, and that the Indians may give these persons that which is necessary for their maintenance; and for this you may issue orders. His Majesty promises, as you will see in his letter, that whatever I may order concerning the repartimiento shall be observed. Until now, in the discoveries and conquests which have been made in the Indies, his Majesty has never made such liberal grants as he makes to you and to that army. May it please our Lord that the land be pacified and populated and the natives come into knowledge of our holy faith; for if this end which we hope for [is realized] I believe that in this life and in the next the labors which now present themselves will be remunerated. When Luis Daza goes he will take you the original of his Majesty's letter. I replied to it, kissing his royal [28 v] feet and hands for you, that army, and myself, for the grant which he

la md. que les hazia y que le suplicaua mandase moderar el tiempo de los diez a^{os} porque le auia parescido los yndios no tributasen por ser tan largo el tiempo que no se podria sustentar la gente sin tener algun entretenimiento en general Pà todos y que lo mandase proueer con breuedad creo se quitara todo el tpo / o se limitara my^{or} Ptè del /.

ojo V Vi lo que .V.S. escriue a Su mag^d en las dos cartas que me ymbio y esta muy bien lo que en ellas dize ymbiarse an en my pliego en el primer nauio /.

V fue bien que se quedasen los marineros que escaparon de las naos que dierõ al traues que son offiçiales y cosa Justa que se les señalase salario pues an de seruir y para ellos y para los demas que estan Sin armas ymbio en estos dos nauios treinta y nueue pieças de colchas y çien mantas de a tres piernas [?] que se hallaron en la munyçion de esta casa rreal y es çierto que no queda otra en ella y que si mas /ouiera se ymbiaran tambien ymbio a .V.S. Pà Sus arcabuçes y de los de la gente de Su guardia dos barriles de poluora medio quintaleños de lo bueno q̃ yo traxe de flandes para mis arcabuçes quedase haçiendo quantidad que quando Luis daça Vaya se ymbiara con lo demas /

V algunos caualleros Vezinos de esta çiudad ymbian alg^{as} cosas Pà sus hijos hermanos y parientes. V.S. hara que se les den y siempre que Vayan nauios les proueeran de la ayuda y rregalos que pudieren y de alla se les pidieren / todo lo q̃ se lleua Va con-sygnado a Juan xaramillo o a la Psona q̃ .V.S. ouiere dexado en el puerto y le escriuo que abra Vno de los pliegos q̃ Va para .V.S. porque Vea y entienda lo que su mag^t A mandado proueer y lo que de aca se prouee y proueera y le encargo que no desampare el puerto E le tenga con la guarda que de su persona se confia atento que a de ser y es la prinçipal fuerça de esos rreynos y la que mas ynporta que este a buen rrecado y le encargo que tenga gran Vigilançia en que esten a buen rrecado los nauios y barcas que en el ay y los que fueren asy porque los yndios de la comarca no puedan llegar a quemarlos ny hazelles daño como Pà que marineros / ny otras Psonas no tengan lugar de poderse yr en

made to them. I also asked him to order the period of ten years reduced, that being the time during which he thought that the Indians should pay no tribute. For that time is so long that the people could not maintain themselves without having some support in general for them all. So I asked him to have an order issued promptly, and I believe that he will remove the time limit entirely or the greater part of it. N.B.

I saw what you write to his Majesty in the two letters which you sent to me; what you say in them is very good. They will be sent in my parcel of letters on the first ship.

It was well that the mariners who escaped from the ships which were sunk should remain there, for they are artisans, and it was just that they should be assigned salaries, for they will have to perform service. For them, and for the others who are without arms I am sending on these two ships thirty-nine counterpanes and one hundred blankets of three breadths which were found among the stock of this royal house. It is a fact that not another one is left in it; if there were it would be sent to you. I am also sending you for your arquebuses and for those of the members of your guard two barrels, half a quintal each, of the good powder which I brought from Flanders for my own arquebuses. A quantity is now being made, and when Luis Daza goes it will be sent with the other things. N.B.

Some gentlemen resident in this city are sending a few things for their sons, brothers, and relatives. You will see that these are given to them. Whenever ships go they will be provided with all the comforts and presents possible and whatever may be asked for from there. Everything that is being taken goes consigned to Juan Xaramillo, or to the person whom you may have left in the port, and I am writing to him to open one of the packets of letters which is addressed to you, in order that he may see and understand what his Majesty has ordered done and what is being and will be done here. I am ordering him not to leave the port, but to hold it with the courage for which he is reputed, in attention to the fact that it is to be and is the principal defense of those kingdoms, and the one which it is most important to keep well secured; and I am ordering him to observe great vigilance that the ships and barks which are in it or may go to it shall be well protected, in order that the Indians of the vicinity may not come and burn them or injure them, as well as that neither mariners nor other persons may have an opportunity to go away in them. For this

ellos y que para esto conuiene tener las Velas y rremos y mastiles y timon en la casa de munyçion en buena guarda tambien le escriuo q̃ si se pudieren rrecoger las anclas de los nauios q̃ Se perdieron las rrecoja y se pongan en parte q̃ siruan Pà amarrar los nauios en ellas como las que estan en el puerto de san juan de Ulua q̃ sera alguna ayuda para q̃ No suçeda otra desgraçia como la pasada / la memoria de lo q̃ los dos nauios lleuan yra con esta y tambien Va otra en la de jua [*sic*] xaramillo Scriuole que Si no estouiere .V.S. ay quando lleguen que en descargando / los [29 a] Despache porque querria como E dicho que para março / o abril dios mediante fuesen de buelta con algunos caualllos y ganados /

V Es asy como el alguaçil my^{or} a dicho que le ymbie Vn mandamy^{to} Pà q̃ se ymbiasen presos dos soldados por la muerte de Vn hombre y dize .V.S. q̃ son de los buenos q̃ ay en ese campo y que se ymbiaran si a my me paresçiere y pues son tales E Siruen bien y aca no les piden ny sigue nadie mejor estan alla que aca /

V dize .V.S. que sy por ser ynuierno como por no quedar en ese puerto mas de la barca nueva no sera posible ymbiar mensajero hasta que de aca Vaya alguna barca /o nauio pequeño porque nauio grande de su paresçer no se debe ymbiar por Ser muy costosos y peligrosos llegados a esa costa hazersea asy de aqui adel^{te} y los dos que agora Van Son nauios medianos Si se pudiere hazer de aqui A fin de março Una fragata como la que se lleuo hazersea porque creo Sera nesçes^o Pà Ver y sondar los rrios y baias que ay del rrio del espiritu Santo a ese puerto e Pà alla Seruir de lo que conuinyere /.

V los marineros temen de yr esta jornada Sospechando los detengan en el puerto .V.S. prouea como libremente dexten boluer a todos los que Van y que alg^{os} que quedarõ de los nauios que dieron al traues que son casados en españa los ymbie para que cobren el sueldo que se les deue y de aqui se Vayan a sus casas. /

V Peloso no es llegado hasta agora a esta çiudad como Venga le dare las gr^{as} de lo bien que a seruido y se le gratificara Su seruicio y trabajo y si touiere Voluntad de boluer por mar /o por tierra lo ymbiare con luis daça por la mar / o con Juan de busto por la trr^a. /

purpose it will be well to have the sails, oars, masts, and rudder in the munition-house under good guard. I am also writing him that if it is possible to recover the anchors of the ships which were lost, he is to recover them and put them where they will serve to anchor the ships to them as [is done] with those which are at the port of San Juan de Ulúa; this will be of some aid in preventing another disaster like the past one. The memoir of what the ships are taking goes with this letter, and another also goes in the one to Juan Xaramillo. I am writing to him that if you are not there when they arrive [29 r] he shall send the ships back as soon as they are discharged, for I desire, as I have said, that by March or April, God willing, they might return with some horses and cattle.

It is true, as the head bailiff has said, that I sent you an order to send back as prisoners two soldiers for the murder of a man. You say that they are among the best ones in that camp, but that you will send them if it seems good to me. Since they are such and are serving well, and since no one here demands them or is prosecuting them, they are better there than here.

You say that because it is winter and because there is no vessel in that port except the new bark, it will not be possible to send a messenger until some bark or small ship goes from here; for you think that large ships should not be sent because it is very costly and dangerous to make port on that coast in them [and that] for the future they should be built here. The two which are now going are of medium size. If it is possible to build a frigate like the one which went, between now and the end of March, it shall be done, for I think one will be needed to explore and sound the rivers which lie between the Río del Espíritu Santo and that port, and to be used there for whatever purpose may be convenient.

N.B.

The mariners fear to go on this voyage, suspecting that you will detain them in that port. You will order that all who go may freely return, and some of those who were saved from the ships which were lost and who have wives in Spain you will send back in order that they may collect the wages which are due them and go home from here.

Peloso⁸⁴ has not yet reached this city. As soon as he comes I shall thank him for the fine way he has served and reward him for his service and labor; and if he is willing to return by sea or by land I will send him by sea with Luis Daza or with Juan de Busto by land.

- V Don carlos esta bueno y trabaja bien en su estudio e .V.S. puede perder cuydado de lo que le toca porque Verdaderamente le amo como a Vno de mys hijos porque demas de serlo de .V.S. es tal que lo meresçe porque es çierto que de su edad no he Visto mozo tan bien ynclinado y tan Virtuoso A cresçido y embarnesçido despues q̃ .V.S. se fue posa en la camara donde yo solia dormir quando estuue malo y en tanto q̃ yo Viuiere y el estouiere apartado de .V.S. no a menester otro ganso / Villerias tiene cuydado de myrar por el y proueelle de lo nesçesario de las demas Psonas q̃ .V.S. me encarga que aca tiene por Seruidores y amigos tengo y tendre cuydado de onrrallos y proueellos. /
- Ojo V muñoz el compañero de antonio de luna esta aqui y se a ofresçido a yr a descubrir el camyno y pienso ymbialle como he dicho con hasta XXX. compañeros A ello y pienso despachalles para fin de diçiembre prinçipio de henero y el padre fray andres de Urdaneta entiende en hazer Vn rregimiyento por donde creo no se podra dexar de açertar en el camyno. /
- V Juan Vasques de coronado me escriuió de guatimala como auia casado el señor don carlos de arellano sobrino de .V.S. con Vna señora Doña Juana arias Su cuñada y lo mismo me escriue don carlos y que auia efectuado el casamyº por [29 b] paresçelle que era cosa q̃ le estaua bien Con esta creo q̃ yran cartas suyas por donde Se entendera mas en particular. /
- V la flota que se esperaua de españa lleo por el mes de Jullio, Vinyeron dos oydores para esta rreal audienciã q̃ se dizen el liçençiado puga y el liçençiado / orozco Son hombres / onrrados y les conuienen los cargos a lo que hasta agora de ellos se entiende las nueuas que de españa tuue Vera .V.S. por las que Van con esta E por algunos capitulos de cartas que don antonyo de Velasco me escriuió de flandes tambien ymbio la copia de prouision de encomyendas q̃ su mag^t hizo en la postrera consulta en la qual le cupo a don antonyo Vna Razonable aunque le cuesta caro. A don luis su hermano espero aqui en los primeros nauios Si Vinyere y fuere nesçesario yr a socorrer y ayudar a .V.S. ymbialle E de muy buena Voluntad. la memoria que me dio aluaro de latorre el clerigo que estuuo con Soto en esas Proui^{as} me parescio ymbiar con esta porque no estoy çertificado Sy la lleuo .V.S. / lo que de esta tierra se puede escriuir Remyto a otros cronystas mas desocupados. las que Van con esta para el padre fray pedro de feria

Don Carlos is in good health and attends to his studies well. You need not worry about him, for I truly love him as one of my own sons because, besides the fact that he is your son, he deserves it, for it is the truth that for his age I have never seen a boy so well-inclined and so virtuous. He has grown tall and handsome since you went away. He uses the room in which I used to sleep when I was ill. While I live and he is separated from you he shall lack for nothing. Villerías has the duty of looking out for him and providing him with every need. The other persons whom you charge me to keep here as servitors and friends I shall take care to honor and provide for.

N.B.

Muñoz the partner of Antonio de Luna is here and has offered to go and discover the road. I think of sending him, as I have said, with as many as thirty companions for this purpose. I think of sending them about the last of December or the first of January. Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta is undertaking to make him a set of directions whereby I believe he cannot fail to find the road.

N.B.

Juan Vázquez de Coronado wrote me from Guatemala that Don Carlos de Arellano, a nephew of yours, had married a lady, Doña Juana Arias, his sister-in-law. Don Carlos writes me the same news, and that the marriage has been effected because it seemed to him [29 v] that it was a thing that was good for him. I believe that with this letter go some of his, from which you will learn more particulars.

The fleet which was expected from Spain arrived in the month of July. There came for this royal audiencia two judges, named Licenciante Puga and Licenciante Orozco. They are honorable men, and from what has so far been observed of them they are suited to their positions. The news I had from Spain you will see from the letters which go with this, and from certain chapters of letters which Don Antonio de Velasco wrote me from Flanders. He also sent the copy of the provision for encomiendas which his Majesty made in the last consultation. In this provision Don Antonio obtained a fair-sized encomienda, although it cost a good deal. Don Luis, his brother, I expect here on the first ships. If he comes, and it becomes necessary to go to succor and aid you, I will very gladly send him. The memoir given me by Álvaro de la Torre, the cleric who was with Soto in those provinces, it has seemed wise to send herewith, for I am not sure that you took [a copy] with you. What might be written concerning this land I leave to chroniclers who are not so busy. The letters which go herewith for Fray

y los demas Religiosos y para el maestre de campo y capitanes mandara .V.S. q̃ Se les de y del bastimento q̃ se lleua Se dara a los rreligiosos hasta XL quintales de biscocho y X arrobas de harina y algun vino y dos hanegas de sal y lo demas q̃ los rreligiosos de santo Domingo les ymbian que son media dozena de hachas y çiertos çepillos y junteras y Vna caxa con algunos Regalos /.

Ojo V El Señor Don luis de castilla y el contador / ortuño de ybarra ymbian A sus hijos algunas cosas y otros creo q̃ haran lo mesmo .V.S. proueera como se de cada cosa A sus dueños llegando en saluamento conforme A como Va consygnado/.

Ojo V paresçeme q̃ ymporta mucho que en el puerto huuiese dos barcas Pà que la Vna este de rrespecto y / ordinario en el puerto para lo que se puede ofresçer y la otra para darme auiso de lo que suçede quando conuenga Si agora no estouieramos tan en el coraçon del ynuerno ymbiara Una con estos dos nauios yra quando sean de buelta porque antes no conuerna auenturales De españa me ymbiaron alg^{as} piedras del metal del açogue Pà que por ellas se busquen en esta tierra mynas y porque podria Ser que alla Se hallasen ymbio a .V.S. Vna de las piedras que de españa me ymbiaron y el gauarro que esta çerca dellas la de metal es la piedra colorada que tiene algunas manchas y el gauarro que esta çerca della es la otra q̃ Va con ella y la memoria de como se benefiçia en españa tambien Va con esta A ortizico y a Velasques y rromero encomiendo a .V.S. paresçeme que los dos quedaran a pie ymbiar-seles An cauillos en los primeros nauios E porque no Se detengan los que agora Van en llevar las cartas no es esta mas larga la Señora Doña Juana se que esta muy buena y muy Regalada de [30 a] la Señora doña Juana y del señor don luis yo tengo y tendre cuydado De seruirla Como es Razon y lo debo a .V.S. cuya Ill^e. persona guarde nño S^{or}./

V Señor myo verdadero questado por perder el seso y la byda de pesar de lo suçedydo en la perdyda de los nabyos y neçesydad de bastymientos sea loado nño Señor q̃ lo permytyo y que fuese a tpo q̃ tenya .V.S. en tña su persona y exerçyto con la delyjençya posyble se despachan los dos nabyos con el bastymiento q̃ pueden llebar y no ban mas cargados por yr en rreçyo tpo / en descar-

Pedro de Feria and the other religious and for the *maestre de campo* and captains you will order delivered to them. From the provisions which are being sent you will give to the religious up to forty quintals of biscuit, ten *fanegas*⁸⁵ of flour, some wine, and two fanegas of salt; the other things, which the religious of Santo Domingo are sending them, are half a dozen axes, certain brushes and carpenters' planes, and a box containing some gifts.

Don Luis de Castilla⁸⁶ and the accountant Hortuño de Ibarra⁸⁷ are sending their sons a few things, and others will do the same I believe. You will see that each thing is given to its owner, if it arrives safely, according as it is consigned.

N.B.

It seems to me very important that there should be two barks in the port, so that one could be on regular and ordinary duty in it for whatever might occur, and the other for sending me word whenever it might suit. If we were not just now in the middle of winter, I would send one with these two ships. It will go when they return, but before that time it will not be proper to risk it. They sent me from Spain a few stones of quicksilver metal with which to search for mines in this country, and because it might be that some might be found there I am sending you one of the stones which they sent me from Spain, and the nugget or pellet which is [found] near it. The one containing the metal is the red stone which has some spots, and the pellet which is near it is the other one, which goes with it. The memoir of how they are submitted to metallurgical process in Spain also goes herewith. I commend to you Ortizico and Velázquez y Romero. It appears to me that both of them are yet on foot, and horses will have to be sent to them on the first ships. In order that those who are now going with these letters may not be detained, this one is not any longer. I know that the Señora Doña Juana is very well, and very happy. Of [30 r] the Señora Doña Juana, and of Don Luis⁸⁸ I am taking and shall take care, in order to serve your Lordship, as is right and as I owe to you, whose illustrious person may our Lord preserve.

It is true, my lord, that I have been almost ready to lose my senses and my life for grief over what happened in the loss of the ships and [your] need of provisions. May our Lord, who permitted it, be praised that it came when you and the army were on shore. The two ships are being sent with all the diligence possible with all the supplies they can carry; they are not more heavily laden because they go at a stormy time. As soon as they are dis-

N.B.

gandose måde .V.S. q̃ buelban por que puedan hacer otro camyno en março v abryl con caballos y ganados y algun bastymiento [30 b] / de lo que sea mas neçesaryo pareçeme que hasta que bayan los caballos y alguna mas jente sy fuere menester q̃ no se debe .V.S. alar [*sic*: alargar ?] del puerto mas de lo q̃ sea neçesaryo para sustentar la jente avn q̃ sy la probynçya de coça no esta mas de çyncuenta leguas del puerto y es lo mejor de la t̃ra para poblar q̃ se enbyen asentar ally como .V.S. mescrybe / no ostante lo q̃ digo .VS. hara lo q̃ byere q̃ mas conbyene como q̃yen tyene la cosa presente / y para que aca sepamos lo q̃ suçede converñya que en el puerto se hyçyese vna fragata v fusta peq̃ña de la madera y clabaçon de las naos que se hyzyõ al trabes y que esta syrba de traer [31 a] y llebar abysos en delyjençya en el puerto de san Juº de lua se hara otra daquy a mayo para el mysmo efeto por esto no se deje de haçer alla la que dygo / sy en el puerto quedaren algunos enfermos de mal contaïjyoso y q̃ no esten para serbyr .V.S. los mande enbyar q̃ yran otros en su lugar / a descubryr el camyno de t̃ra enbyare daquy a enero / y lo que a de yr por t̃ra se començara a rrecojer y poner en el camyno y en todo lo q̃ de aquy yo pudyere proveer no abra falta / y de don carlos puede perder cuydado .V.S. cuya ylustre persona guarde y prospere [31 b] / ñro señor de los maryneros que aora ban nynguno se detenga y sy de los que alla estan se sufryere dar lyçençya algunos fuera byen porque se les haçe de mal yr sospechando que los an de detener de mejyco XXV de otubre /

servydor de .V.S.

Don LUIS DE VE^{co}.

[*Rubricado*]

[32 a en blanco]

[32 b] [*Direccion*.:] [*roto*: Yll^e. s^{or}?] Don tristan de luna y [*roto*: arellano gouernador?] de las prouinçias de [*roto*: la florida?]

Virrey. Dupp^{do}/

Vi-Rey R^{da} En 30 de Nobiembre de 1559 a^{os}.

[*Endosado*.:] bista [*Hay algunas notas ilegibles*.]

[*Endosado*.:] otubre

charged you will order them to return so that they can make another voyage in March or April with horses and cattle and some supplies [30 v] of whatever may be most needed. It seems to me that until the horses go and some more people, if necessary, that you should not go farther away from the port than may be required in order to maintain the people. But if the province of Coosa is not more than fifty leagues from the port and is the best part of the land to settle, send [a colony] to settle there as you write me, notwithstanding what I say. You will do whatever you consider most proper as one who has the matter before him. In order that we here may know what is happening, it will be convenient to build in the port a frigate and a small foist from the wood and nails of the ships which sank. This may serve to bring [31 r] and take dispatches. Another one will be constructed with diligence in the port of San Juan de Ulúa between now and May for the same purpose, but do not fail to do there as I say because of this. If there are any persons ill with contagious diseases and who are of no service to you, please return them and others will go in their places. I shall send from here to discover the road in January, and [the animals] which are to go by land will soon be collected and set on the road. In everything which I can provide here there will be no lack, and you need not worry about Don Carlos. May God guard and prosper your illustrious person. [31 v] Do not detain any of the mariners who are going [to you] now, and if it should be possible to grant license to return to some of those who are now there it would be well, for it makes them discontented to go suspecting that they are to be detained. Mexico, October 25, [1559].³⁹

Your servant,

Don LUIS DE VELASCO.

[*Rubric*]

[32 r blank]

[32 v] [*Addressed:*] [*torn:* The Illustrious?] Don Tristán de Luna y [*torn:* Arellano, Governor?] of the provinces of [*torn:* La Florida?].

The Viceroy. Duplicate.

[*Indorsed:*] Viceroy. Received November 30, 1559.

[*Indorsed:*] Seen. [*There are some illegible notes.*]

[*Indorsed:*] October.

[33 a]

†

[Endosado:] A la otra dupp^{da}.Yll^e. Señor

las que V.S. me escriuio con luis daça en veinte y quatro de agosto [*Esta carta, que ocupa las páginas 33 a a 36 a, del original, es el duplicado de la que antecede, pero se omite la parte en la letra propia del virrey. Termina así:*]

[36 a] de mexico XXV de otubre 1559

servydor de .V.S.

Don LUIS DE V^{co}.

[Rubricado]

[36 b]

†

[Direccion:] Al Yll^e. señor don tristan de luna y arellano gouernador de las Prouincias de la florida.

Virrey [*Hay un sello estampado sobre cera.*]

[Endosado:] bista

[Endosado:] xxv de otubre de lxx

[37 a]

†

[VELASCO A LUNA, MÉXICO, 4 DE OCTUBRE DE 1560]

ylustre Se^{or}

en lo de su en-
fermedad si se
ouiere de curar
donde a de ser y
qñdo

despues descryta la que ba con esta me a paresçydo abyendolo cumunycado cõ los oydores desta Real avdyençya q̃ podrya suçeder q̃ .V.S. se syntyese con tan notable yndyspusycyon q̃ le cõbynyese sallir desa tñra a curarse y en tal caso conuernya q̃ durãte su avsençya quedase persona q̃ gobernase me a paresçydo q̃ sy .V.S. determyna syntyendo q̃ les forçoso como dygo salyrse a curar que su lugar q̃dase Jorje cerõ por su calydad edad y espyrençya / y asy lescrybo la q̃ ba cõ esta para que pareçyendole a .V.S. se la de y de su parte y de la mya le encarge [37 b] el gobyerno y lo que a de haçer y le de copya de las ystruçyones q̃ .V.S. llebo y encarge y mãde a los ofycyales y jente de cargo q̃ durãte su avsençya le obedescan. /

Sy .V.S. determynare de salyr de la tñra por su yndyspusycyon no sea en ninguna manera para esta nueva españa porq̃ como en otra dygo no cõbyene / a su byda onrra ny haçyenda por aora syno q̃

[33 r]

†

[Indorsed:] Duplicate of the other.

Illustrious Sir:

The letters you wrote me by Luis Daza on August 24 . . .

[*This letter, which is found on pp. 33 r-36 r of the original, is a duplicate of the preceding, but the part written by the viceroy himself is omitted. It ends as follows:*]

[36 r] Mexico, October 25, 1559.

Your servant,

DON LUIS DE VELASCO.

[Rubric]

[36 v]

†

[Addressed:] To the Illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, Governor of the Provinces of La Florida.

The Viceroy. [*There is a seal stamped on wax.*]

[Indorsed:] Seen.

[Indorsed:] October 25, 1569.

[37 r]

†

[VELASCO TO LUNA, MEXICO, OCTOBER 4, 1560]

Illustrious Sir:

After writing the letter which goes with this one, it seemed to me upon consulting with the judges of this royal audiencia that it may be that you are suffering from such a decided indisposition that it would be wise for you to come away from that land to recover. In such case it would be fitting that during your absence some one should remain in control of the government. It has seemed to me that if you decide, feeling that you are obliged to do as I say, to come away in order to recover, that Jorge Cerón⁴⁰ should remain in your place, on account of his qualifications, age, and experience. Hence I am writing you the letter which goes herewith, in order that if it appears proper to you, you may give it to him and on your part and on mine charge him [37 v] with the government and its duties, and give him a copy of the instructions which you took, and charge and command the officials and persons in authority to obey him during your absence.

If you decide to leave the country on account of your indisposition, it should by no means be to come to this New Spain, for as I tell you in the other letter, it would not now be conducive [of good] to your life, honor, or estate. But you should go to

As to his illness;
if he is to be cured,
where it ought to
be, and when.

se baya a la habana porque de ally estara mas a mano para tenyendo salud pueda bolver a su cargo aora se entrando por la puerta de santa elena o por el puerto donde sale y para aguardar ally la flota q̃ a de yr a es[38 a]pañā / y dar Relacyon a su m̃t de lo suçedydo y pedyrle el govyerno de aquella ysla para el Remedyo de la poblacyon de la floryda y punta de santa elena que yo escrybyre sobrello como a .V.S. le pareçe / y porque estoy en duda sy llegara esta al puerto antes que parta la carabela soy brebe Remytyendome a lo que escrybo en otras/. entenydo tengo las poquedades y flaquezas de que a tratado aº perez y q̃l frasys de lo q̃ alla se a ordenado es ficto[?] y comygo el a ganado poco credyto / y no falta por aca quyen dyga a como a bendydo y a quyen los tocynos y q̃sos y no ybya alla para esto y sy nos bemos el lo entendera de my [38 b] / guarde ñro Señor la ylustre persona de .V.S. de mejyco a quatro de otubre año de IUDLX

servydor de .V.S.

Don LUYs DE VE^{co}.

[Rubricado]

†

[Dirección:] El Ill^e. Señor don tristan de luna y arellano gouernador y Capitan [roto: gene]ral de las proVincias de la flo[roto: rida]

ViRey de la n^a spaña. [Hay un sello sobre lacre.]

†

[Endosado:] Virrey R^{da}. En 6 de nobienbre 1560 aºs

[Endosado:] R^{da}

[Endosado:] iiijº otubre de lx

[39 a]

†

[VELASCO A LUNA, MÉXICO, 30 DE OCTUBRE DE 1559]

ylustre Señor

al tpo q̃uescryby a .V.S. y despache el plyego no estaba en esta çybdad el padre fray pedro de la peña probynçyal vyno y e le cumuncado lo suçedydo por la demasyada carydad y medyos q̃l padre bycaryo y los Relysyosos quyeran llebar los negocyos y dyjo que sy no se vsa de vn tenplado Rygor q̃ se pone en abentura de perderse el ejerçyto y no conseyrse el efeto que se pretende /

La Havana, for there you would be nearer at hand so that you might upon recovering your health return to your post either by entering at the port of Santa Elena or at the port from which you leave. There [at La Havana] you could await the fleet which is to go to [38 r] Spain, and give an account to his Majesty of what has happened, and ask him for the government of that island in order to support the settlement of La Florida and the Punta de Santa Elena. I will write concerning this as seems good to you, and because I doubt whether this will reach the port before the caravel sails, I am brief, referring you to what I write in other letters. I have understood about the smallness and meanness with which Alonso Pérez has acted, and that the hubbub over what has happened there is false [?].⁴¹ He has gained little credit with me. Those are not lacking here who tell how and to whom he has sold the bacon and cheese. He did not go there for that purpose, and if we ever see each other he will hear it from me. [38 v] May our Lord guard your illustrious person. Mexico, October 4, 1560.

Your servant,

Don LUIS DE VELASCO.

[Rubric]

†

[Addressed:] The illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor and captain-[torn: gene]ral of the provinces of La Flo[torn: rida]

The viceroy of New Spain. [There in a seal stamped on wax.]

†

[Indorsed:] Viceroy. Received November 6, 1560.

[Indorsed:] Answered.

[Indorsed:] October 4, 1560.

[39 r]

†

[VELASCO TO LUNA, MEXICO, OCTOBER 30, 1559]

Illustrious Sir:

At the time when I wrote to you and dispatched the packet of letters, Father Fray Pedro de la Peña, the provincial, was not in this city, [but] he has come, and I have informed him of what has happened through the excessively kind measures whereby the father vicar and the other religious desire to conduct affairs. He said that if a moderated rigor is not employed, there is risk of losing the army and not obtaining the desired effect. The pro-

el probynçyal escrybe al padre bycaryo y al padre fray domyngo que deben tenplar la pyedad cõ los naturales y el rygor con los españoles y ñ no ynpydan la neçesarya y justa defensa ny el tomar el mätenymy^o tenyendo ebydente neçesydad. .V.S. les dara las cãs y probeera lo ñ conbenga como se [39 b] / ofreçyere la neçesydad que esto se remyte a su crystyandad y prudencya /. y por que estoy en duda sy estas cãs llegaran al puerto antes que partan los nabyos soy brebe /. en llegando los mãde .V.S. descargar y despachar y me de abyso sy se podra haçer alla el vergantyn v chalupa que escryto que este de Respeto en el puerto para dar abyso de lo ñ suçede aca se hara otro para el mysmo efeto y en panuco se hara vna barca para llebar de ally algun ganado en pye y sal y otras cosas de las que ay en la tñã ñ seran neçesaryas en esa / el camyno desta ba a descubryr Ju^o de busto con cuarenta de a caballo llegaran sy puede hasta topar con el Ryo del espirytu sãto partyra medyado dycyenbre ò en pr̃çypyo de enero y tomara la deRota dende San myguel creo tardara quatro me[40 a]ses en yr y bolver sy no topa con ynpedymy^o notable que le ynpyda y en syendo de buelta despachare un nabyo con el abyso del camyno que vbyere descuberto y con lo que aca se provee para que V.S. este advertido y probea como se salga a Recybyr la jente y ganado que de aca fueren y abyse de ñ deRota deben llebar / en lo demas me Remyto a lo que escryto guarde nño Señor y acrecyente la ylustre persona de .V. Señorya de mejyco y de octubre XXX /

servydor de .V.S.

Don LUYs DE VE^{co}.

[*Rubricado*]

[40 b]

†

[*Direccion:*] Al Ill^e. señor don tristan de luna y arellano gouernador y [*roto:* capitan ge]neral por su mag^t. en las [*roto:* provincias] de la florida

Virrey [*Hay un sello estampado sobre cera.*]

[*Endosado:*] ViRey Rda en 10 de novi^e de 1559 a^os

[*Endosado:*] bista

[*Endosado:*] xxx de octubre de lix

vincial is writing to the father vicar and Father Fray Domingo that they ought to temper their kindness toward the natives and their rigor toward the Spaniards; that they should not hinder the necessary and proper defense, nor the taking of food [from the Indians] when there is evident need of it. You will give them the letters, and issue such orders as are fitting [39 v] according to necessity; in this I defer to your Christianity and prudence. And because I doubt whether these letters will reach the port before the ships go, I am brief. When they arrive you will order them discharged and sent back; and you will inform me whether it will be possible to build the brigantine and the shallop of which I have written, to have them in reserve at the port to send word by as to what happens. Another will be built here for the same purpose, and in Pánuco a bark will be built to take from there some cattle on the hoof, some salt, and other things to be had in that land which are needed in yours. The road from here is going to be discovered by Juan de Busto with forty horsemen. They will go until they strike the Río del Espíritu Santo if possible. He will set out in the middle of December or the first of January, and will take the route from San Miguel. I expect it to take him four months [40 r] to go and return, provided he encounters no unexpected difficulty to delay him. When he returns I will send a ship with information about the road which he may discover, and an account of what is ordered here, so that you may be notified, and may order [a party] to go out to meet the people [with Busto] and the cattle which may go from here, and advise them what route to take. As to the rest, I refer to what I have already written. May our Lord guard and grant increase to the illustrious person of your Lordship. Mexico, October 30, [1559].

Your servant,

DON LUIS DE VELASCO.

[*Rubric*]

[40 v]

†

[*Addressed:*] To the illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor and [*torn:* captain ge]neral for his Majesty in the [*torn:* provinces] of La Florida.

Viceroy. [*There is a seal stamped on wax.*]

[*Indorsed:*] Viceroy. Received November 10, 1559.

[*Indorsed:*] Seen.

[*Indorsed:*] October 30, 1559.

[41 a]

†

LO Q̃ PASO EN LA IGLIA AL T̃PO DEL SERMON DE VN FRAYLE //

Yo gonçalo Suares esno nombrado por El muy Il^e. señor don tristan de luna y arellano governador y capitan general En estas proVincias de la florida y punta de Santa Elena por su mag^t. Doi fe y verdadero testimonyo A los Señores que la presente vieren como En Vn dia que se contaron Siete dias deste presente mes de março deste año de nro saluador Ihs xpo de mill e quiss E sesenta y vn a^{os} Estando En la yglesia deste puerto/ El señor governador y m^e. de campo y los ofiçiales del rrey y los capitanes/ E otras muchas personas / se puzo a predicar El muy rreverendo p^e frai Domingo de la Anunçiaçion El qual Entre otras cosas Contenidas En El dño sermon Dixo/ quel señor governador se devia juntar con el m^e. de campo y ofiçiales del rrei E capitanes para proveher en las cosas nesesarias a este campo./E acabado el sermon E misa / El dho frai Domingo de la Anunçiaçion E frai Domingo de Salazar se Vinyeron A donde su s^a estava tornandole a rreplicar En las palabras dhas / En el sermon. les rrespondio / que se fuesen con el A su casa y que alla tratarian dello no queriendo Venir En cosa / de lo que por los frailes le hera pedido / Visto por El m^e. de canpo Dixo En altas Vozes Ea Señores soldados / hermanos y compañeros mios seguidme porque ya Esto no se puede sufrir / con las quales palabras se alborotaron mucho todos los mas que presentes estavan / y siguiendo Al dho m^e. de canpo se fueron tras del S^{or}. governador y tras los frailes / que con su S^a yvan hablando y tratando de que se juntase y fuese amigo del dho m^e. de canpo y ofiçiales Del rrey y capitanes / y llegados que todos juntos fueron a las puertas de la posada del señor governador / su señoria Respondiendo A lo que los frailes le vinyeron Diciendo Dixo Estas palabras / ya tengo dho A vñas mdes / antes de agora / y aora lo torno A Dezir que si el m^e. de canpo o los ofiçiales del rrei / o los capitanes Vinieren a mi casa que los Resebire con todo El amor del mundo / y tomare El pareser que me dieren En las cosas / Deste canpo como sea En serviçio de dios y de su m^t. / ora sea por escrito ora de palabra no tratandome de las cosas/ pasadas. y Esto yo lo hare como tengo dho./ pero Entrar En

[41 r]

†

WHAT HAPPENED IN THE CHURCH DURING A SERMON BY A FRIAR

I, Gonzalo Suárez, a notary appointed by the very illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor and captain-general in these provinces of La Florida and the Punta de Santa Elena for his Majesty, bear testimony and true witness to those persons by whom this writing may be seen: that upon a certain day, that is, on the seventh day of the present month of March,⁴² of this year of our Savior Jesus Christ one thousand five hundred and sixty-one, when the governor of this port, the *maestre de campo*, the officials of the king, the captains, and many other persons were in the church, the very reverend father, Fray Domingo de la Anunciación, began to preach. Among other things contained in his sermon, he said that the governor ought to call a meeting with the *maestre de campo*, the [treasury] officials of the king, and the captains, to order the things necessary for this port. When the sermon and the mass were ended, the said Fray Domingo de la Anunciación and Fray Domingo de Salazar came to where his Lordship was, and spoke to him, again using the same words as those of the sermon. He replied that they should come with him to his house and that they would there discuss the matter, as he did not wish to accede [there] to what the friars asked. When the *maestre de campo* saw this, he cried in a loud voice, "Ho, soldiers, my brothers and companions, follow me, for this thing cannot be endured." At these words all the others present became very much excited, and, following the *maestre de campo*, they went out behind the governor and the friars, who were walking beside his Lordship and trying to induce him to agree to call the meeting and be the friend of the *maestre de campo*, the officials of the king, and the captains. When they all arrived together at the doors of the governor's house, his Lordship, replying to what the friars had been saying as they walked along, said: "I have already spoken these words to you before this, and I again repeat, that if the *maestre de campo*, or the king's officials, or the captains were to come to my house I would receive them with all the affection in the world, and listen to the opinions which they might give me concerning the affairs of this camp, if it should be to the service of God and of his Majesty, whether in writing or orally, and if it be not concerning past affairs. And this I will do, as I have already

junta [41 b] Con Ellos yo no lo tengo de hazer / porque de lo que conmigo An usado El m^e de campo y oficiales del rrey y capitanes / tengo sobre todo hecho rrelaçion Al señor vizorrei / y hasta que su señoria provea de persona / que nos oyga A todos y haga Justicia En el caso no tengo de hazer mas de lo que aqui Digo /. A las quales palabras El m^e. de campo torno / otra vez A dezir mui Aselerada / y apasionadamente / y En altas Vozes Ea señores Capitanes Soldados hermanos y compañeros mios. Si Estais conmigo pedire en nombre de todos lo que tengo que pedir / con las quales dhas palabras Se torno Alborotar mucha parte de la dha gente que presente Estava. / y Visto Esto por los dhos frailes tomando consigo Al dho m^e. de campo y algunos capitanes y mucha parte de los soldados / Sin dar lugar A otra cosa se fueron hazia la yglesia dexando alli Al Señor governador con el qual se quedaron los capitanes matheo del Saz E aluaro nieto E Don xpoval E Don al^{so} de castilla y el alguazil maior R^o Vasques / E los alferes alvaro muños y xpoval asnal de luna / y otras personas / E pasado Esto En Este dho / dia mes E año suso dho El dho / Señor governador por presençia de mi El presente esn^o fue a la dha yglesia A oras que querian dezir la Salue los dhos / frailes / y estando puesto de Rodillas Se llevo a el El padre frai domingo de la Anunçiaçion y le dixo Estas palabras. Vña S^a se salga de la yglesia porque estando Aqui no podemos dezir la Salue. A lo qual su señoria Respondio / que acavaria de rrezar y se saldria lo qual hizo que Acavado que ovo se salio de la yglesia y avnque se quizeron yr con el los capitanes mateo del Saz / y aluaro nieto y El alguazil maior / y otros personas no se lo consintio. Antes les rrogo y persuadio / a que se quedasen A oyr la Salue. y con Esto se fue solo a su pozada. y salidos que fuemos de la Salue / los dhos capitanes aluaro nieto y mateo del Saz y El alguazil maior y Don xpoval [42 a] y otras personas fueron Adonde El señor governador Estaua. En presençia de los quales y de mi El presente esn^o mando A Jhoan de Vargas que fuese a la yglesia y dixese Al padre frai domingo de la Anunçiasion que pues no le Avian dexado Estar En la Salue / que si podria yr otro dia siguiente a misa. E que sino Avia de yr le diesen la cavs. /lo qual el dho Jhoan de Vargas En mi presençia dixo al dho frai domingo de la Anunçiaçion El qual rrespondio que Dixesemos a su señoria que tampoco le dexarian oyr misa E que la cavs. hera

said. But as to entering into a formal council [41 v] with them, that I will not do, because of the way the *maestre de campo*, the king's officials, and the captains, have treated me. I have made a report to the viceroy concerning the whole affair, and until his Lordship appoints a person to hear us all and to do justice in the case, I have nothing further to do than what I here say." To these words the *maestre de campo* again said, speaking very rapidly and angrily and in loud tones: "Ho, captains, soldiers, brothers and companions of mine, if you are with me, I will ask in the name of all of you what I have to ask." At these words a great part of the people present again became excited. The friars, seeing this, took with them the *maestre de campo*, some of the captains, and a great part of the soldiers, and, without giving opportunity for anything else, went toward the church, leaving the governor there. With him remained captains Mateo del Sauz, Álvaro Nieto, Don Cristóbal, and Don Alonso de Castilla, the head bailiff Rodrigo Vázquez, ensigns Álvaro Muñoz and Cristóbal Asnal de Luna, and other persons. After this had happened on the day, month, and year above named, the governor in the presence of me the present notary, went to the church at the hour when the friars were accustomed to say the *Salve*. While he was kneeling Fray Domingo de la Anunciación came to him and said these words: "Your Lordship will please leave the church, for while you are here we cannot say the *Salve*." To this his Lordship replied that he would finish praying, and would then go, which he did. When he had finished he went out of the church, and although the captains Mateo del Sauz and Álvaro Nieto, the head bailiff, and other persons tried to go out with him, he would not permit them to do so, but asked and persuaded them to remain and hear the *Salve*. Thereupon, the governor went alone to his house. When we had come out from the *Salve*, we, the said captains Álvaro Nieto and Mateo del Sauz, the head bailiff, Don Cristóbal [42 r] and other persons, went to where the governor was. Then, in the presence of them and of me the present notary, he commanded Juan de Vargas to go to the church and ask Father Fray Domingo de la Anunciación whether, since he had not permitted the governor to be present at the *Salve*, he would be allowed to attend the mass on the following day. If he were not to be allowed to do so, the friar was to tell him the reason. This Juan de Vargas asked in my presence of Fray Domingo de la Anunciación, who replied that we should tell his Lordship that they would not permit him

porque su S^a no se queria juntar ni hablar al m^e de campo ni a los ofiçiales Del rrei ni a los capitanes / y que hasta que lo hiziese por ser cosa que conVenia a este campo y rrepublica / no le dexarian ni admitirian / a questuviese en los ofiços divinos / con la qual dha rrespuesta / El dho juan de Vargas E yo boluimos E Deximos A su S^a / Todo lo qual El dho S^r governador pidio A mi El presente Escrivano se lo Diese por testimony^o De quyo pedimi^o lo fize Escrevir E lo firme de mi nombre / ques fecho / En este puerto De Santamaria de ochuse A ocho dias del dho mes de março Año suso dho /. Siendo presentes / y por testigos A lo que dho es los Señores capitanes aluaro nieto E mateo del Saz E Don al^{so} de castilla y aluaro muñoz alferes /.

yo Gonçalo suares esn^o suso dho do [sic] fe E verdadero testimonio porque ante mi paso. por Ende lo firme de mi nombre.

GONÇALO SUARES

esn^o nombrado.

[Rubricado]

[42 b]

†

[Endosado:] testimonio de lo que dixo El m^e. de campo / En presençia del Señor governador / y de otras cosas [Hay una rubrica.]

[Endosado:] marco de lxj

[43 a] [VELASCO A LUNA, MÉXICO, 5 DE MAYO DE 1560]

†

ylustre Se^{or}.

Sobre repartir los
bastimentos

// Vy la ñ .V.S. me escrybe sobre la orden del Repartyr de los bastymientos y de lo ñ se agrabyã los ofyçyales paresçeme que asy para quellos no tēgan tanto trabajo como para que aya buen Recado / que V. Señorya nõbre dos personas que lo Resyban por cuēta y peso y lo den por la orden que .V. S. les dyere que syendo onbres de byen y puestos por su mano es de creer ñ no haran Ruÿdad y estos deben ser creydos por la cuēta [43 b] que dyeren cõ Juramento con ñl cargo y data jeneral se haga por los ofçyales /. by la memorya de como dyce .V. Señorya que abyen de ser los barcos luengos y aca nos pareçe que la façyon es buena para nabegar los Ryos y prover con ellos lo neçesaryo y pues .V. S.

to hear mass either, and the reason was because his Lordship would not hold the meeting nor talk with the *maestre de campo*, the king's officials, and the captains; and that until he did so, since it was a matter vital to this camp and republic, they would not admit him nor allow him to be present at divine offices. With this reply Juan de Vargas and I returned and told his Lordship, all of which the governor asked me, the present notary, to give him in a sworn statement. In accordance with this order I had it written, and I signed it with my name. Done in this port of Santa María de Ochuse on the eighth day of the month of March, in the year above mentioned, being present as witnesses to what is said the captains Álvaro Nieto, Mateo del Sauz, and Don Alonso de Castilla and Álvaro Muñoz, ensign.

I, Gonzalo Suárez, the aforesaid notary, attest and give true witness [hereto] because it happened in my presence. Finally, I signed it with my name.

GONZALO SUÁREZ,
Notary appointed.

[*Rubric*]

[42 v]

†

[*Indorsed:*] Declaration of what the *maestre de campo* said in the presence of the governor, and other things. [*There is a rubric.*]

[*Indorsed:*] March, 1561.

[43 r] [VELASCO TO LUNA, MEXICO, MAY 5, 1560]

†

Illustrious Sir:

I saw what you write me concerning the order for distribution of supplies, and of how the officials were aggrieved. It seems to me that in order to relieve them from so much work and also to insure keeping a correct account, your Lordship should name two persons to receive the supplies by count and weight, and issue them upon orders which you may give. If they are honest men and appointed by you it is to be believed that they will not do any wrong, and they ought to be believed in the accounts [43 v] which they render under oath, provided that the charge and general account is made out by the officials themselves. I saw the memoir of how you say the longboats ought to be made, and it seems to us here that their construction is good for navigating the rivers and providing with them whatever is necessary, and since you have the matter

Concerning distribution of supplies.

tyene la cosa presente no tẽgo que deçyr syno Remytyrle esto y todo lo demas que cõbynyere proveer y guarde nõ Señor su ylustre persona de mejyco y de mayo cynco / año de IUDLX

Servydor de .V.S.

Don LUYS DE VE^{co}.

[*Rubricado*]

[44 a en blanco]

[44 b]

†

[*Dirección:*] Al Ill^e. Don Tristan de luna y arellano gouernador de las prou^{as}. [*roto:* de la flori]da/.

[*Hay un sello estampado sobre cera.*]

†

[*Endosado:*] Virrey 22 de Julio de 1560

[*Endosado:*] v de mayo de lx

[45 a] [VELASCO A LUNA, MÉXICO, 6 DE MAYO DE 1560]

†

Jll^e señor

V^e el galeon san Ju^o y el nauio françes que despache con el socorro por el mes de nouiembre fueron de buelta en fin de henero y surgieron sobre el rio de panuco por no tener tiempo para pasar a la Veracruz tuue aqui la nueua por tierra de su Venida en principio de hebrero y puede creer .V.s. que me dio gran contentami^o y alegria saber que llegarõ en saluam^{to} y a buena sazón y que quedaua .V.s. con salud y todos esos capitanes y cauale^{os}. /

V^e Es asi como V.s. Dize que estaua con grandisima pena del mal suceso de los nauios que se perdieron pues nõ señor fue dello seruido no ay que dezir sino dalle graçias por lo que se dexo de hazer. Vi lo que V.s. dize que tenia acordado de entrar la tierra dentro con la mi^{or} pté del campo y lo que despues se acordo que todo me a parescido proueido como se espera del Valor y prudencia de .V.s. y aunq̃ se paso trabajo en el camino que hizieron don Xpoñal de arellano y alu^{or} nieto paresze que fue açertado pues toparon con pu^{os} y Razonable cantidad de g^{te}. y alg^{os} bastimentos y cerca de la Ribera que se entiende q̃ viene a la baya filipi^a E dios Nõ señor lo encamino mejor que las guias que por la relacion y

in hand I have nothing to say except to defer to you in this and in all the rest which it may be fitting to order done. May our Lord guard your illustrious person. Mexico, May 5, 1560.

Your servant,

Don LUIS DE VELASCO.

[*Rubric*]

[44 r blank]

[44 v]

†

[*Addressed:*] To the illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor of the provinces [*torn:* of Flori]da.

[*There is a seal stamped on wax.*]

†

[*Indorsed:*] Viceroy. July 22, 1560.

[*Indorsed:*] May 5, 1560.

[45 r] [VELASCO TO LUNA, MEXICO, MAY 6, 1560⁴³]

†

Illustrious Sir:

The galleon *San Juan* and the French ship which I sent with succor in the month of November returned at the end of January, and anchored at the mouth of the Río de Pánuco because they did not have time to go to La Vera Cruz. At the beginning of February I received here by land the news of their arrival, and you may believe that it gave me great contentment and joy to know that they arrived safely and in good season, and that you and all those captains and gentlemen were in good health.

It is true, as you say, that I was deeply concerned over the ill fortune of losing the ships, but since our Lord willed it there is nothing to say but give Him thanks that nothing worse happened. I saw what you say about having decided to go inland with the greater part of the camp, and that which was later decided upon. All of this seems to me to have been done as was expected of your valor and prudence; and although Don Cristóbal de Arellano and Álvaro Nieto endured hardships on the journey which they made, it appears that it was successful, for they came upon towns, a moderate number of people, and some provisions, and they nearly reached the river which is understood to flow into the Bahía Filipina. God our Lord led them better than the guides, for, ac-

por lo q̃ .V.s. me escriue paresçe que quisieron dar mal cabo de la g^{te}. Su fin debio ser este y que la gente de los pu^{os} tuuiesen lugar de alçar los bastim^{os} y pasarse de la otra p^{te} del rio y fue bien acordado lo que los capitanes y g^{te}. hizieron de meterse en el pu^o Visto que el tiempo les compelia y los naturales no boluian a el y a me paresçido buena señal Venir sin arcos ni flechas a tratar con los spañoles aunque por esto no se debe fiar dellos Dize V.s. que quedaua con sospecha que no darian el bastimento por rescate y que como no lo diesen teniendo dello nesçesidad auian de Venir a las manos y que crea que no pudiendose escusar se justificara la causa todo quanto fuere posible asi es de creer que se hara donde .V.s. esta y tan onrrados capitanes y caualleros y tambien se entiende que teniendo nescesidad y hechas las diligençias q̃ su mag^d manda an de buscar el comer donde lo hallaren y que en el tomarlo se tendra la orden y limitacion que conuiene para que se haga Xpⁱiana y Rectamente. Paresçiome bien que suspendiese .V.s. la yda adonde quedauã el Sarg^{to} mayor y el capitan don Xpoual hasta mediado hebrero por no gastalle los bastim^{os} de los indios y tambien fue açertado ymbiar a la hauana al tesorero al^o Velazquez y a gamboa. las personas que aqui an acudido a que se les pague [45 b] el dinero q̃ se les tomo se a pagado y se pagara a los que traxeren recado/.

V Dize .V.s. que Visto que ay mucha madera y muy Buena en esa costa acordo de hazer dos Vergantines y que el Vno dellos se echaria al agua dentro de ocho / o diez dias y que es buena pieça y sera de harto susten y que lleua su cubierta nesces^o sera para nauegar las riberas y saber lo que en ellas ay e proueer del puerto a los pu^{os} de la rropa y bastim^{os} que ayan menester y traer de arriba al puerto maiz y lo demas q̃ huuiere en la tierra y como esto este Razonablemente proueydo podra .V.s. ymbiar los Vergantines hasta el rio del espiritu santo el Vno, y el otro por la otra costa hasta el paraje de las tortugas y poco a poco dios mediante se yrã descubriendo todos los puertos que huuiere en esa costa de la Vna p^{te} y de la otra E hecho hazer Vna fragata que yra en compañia de los dos nauios que es algo mayor q̃ la

according to the account and from what you write me, it seems that [the Indians] wanted to make an end of our people. This must have been their purpose, as also it was when the people of the towns gathered up their provisions and went across the river. It was wisely decided that the captains and men should go into the town, seeing that the weather compelled them, and the natives were not returning to it. It seems to me a good sign that they came without bows or arrows to treat with the Spaniards, although one must not have confidence in them on account of this. You say that you suspected that they would not give the provisions by barter, and that if they did not, and you had need of them, it would be necessary to fight for them; [you also say] that I am to believe that if it cannot be avoided you will see to it that the action is made as justifiable as possible. It is to be hoped that you will do this wherever you and such honorable captains and gentlemen are. It is also understood that when there is necessity, and the measures have been taken which his Majesty commands, they are to search for food where they can find it, and that in taking it fitting order and limitation will be observed, so that it will be done properly and in a Christian manner. It seemed well to me that you deferred until the middle of February going to the place where the sargento mayor and Captain Don Cristóbal remained, in order not to consume the provisions of the Indians. It was also wise to send the treasurer Alonso Velázquez⁴⁴ and Gamboa to La Havana. The persons who have come here to be paid [45 v] the money which was taken from them have been paid, and those who bring authorization will be paid.

You say that inasmuch as there is plenty of very good timber on that coast you decided to build two brigantines, and that one of them was to be launched within eight or ten days, that it is a good piece of workmanship, will be very substantial, and that it has the necessary deck; that it is for use in navigating the rivers, in learning what is on them, and in taking from the port to the towns the supplies and food they may need, and in bringing down to the port maize and whatever else there may be in the land. When these things have been reasonably attended to, you may be able to send one of the brigantines to the Río del Espíritu Santo, and the other one along the other coast to Las Tortugas;⁴⁵ thus little by little, God willing, all the ports will be discovered which are on that coast in each direction. I have had a frigate made which will go in company with the two ships. It is somewhat larger

que .V.s. lleuo dizenme los que la an Visto que es muy buena pieça esta quiero q̃ sirua de yr y boluer Para saber breuemente como esta .V.s. y ese exercito y lo q̃ se haze y lo que conuerna consultar y proueer y para traer alg^a g^{te} que este notablem^{te} enferma y no pueda seruir e para lleuar de aca otros en su lugar y alg^{as} menudencias y si alla se ofresçiere en que seruir lo haga conque se detenga pocos dias /

V Dize .V.s. que pensaua ymbiar Vn Vergantin y Vn batel y Vna chalupilla a la baya donde estouieron surtos. que es la filipina, y que suban por el Rio arriba en demanda de vpiachi y que lleuaria pte del bastim^o que yo imbie eçep^{to} maiz y que lleuarian Ropa y hato a la gente que estaua la trr^a adentro y que tiene por çierto segun lo que se entiende que no puede ser otro rio Sino el que Viene de la philipina Seria cosa ymportante si fuese asy como .V.s. dize porque pudiendose prouer por las rriberas los pu^{os} questan la trr^a dentro y de arriba al puerto para lo de prest^e y lo de adelante sera de grande importançia como lo fuera si se nauegara de meXico a san ju^o de Ulua la ora de agora ya deue estar Visto y entendido / la entrada que hizieron los capitanes don al^o de castilla y sotelo por el Rio que Viene al puerto de Santa m^a de chuse que tiene .V.s. poblado paresçe que no fue de importançia por Ser el Rio de muchas bueltas y correr ahoçinado y no estar la trr^a bien poblada y Visto lo que .V.s. dize de quan mal sano es el sitio de ese puerto y la Ventaja que al paresçer le haze la baya filipina asi por las riberas que a ella acuden que son nauegables como por ser el sitio mas fertil y podria Ser mas Sano Seria bien mudar el pu^o a esta baya / o mas la tierra adentro en el Rio de piachi lo mas çerca de la baya e puerto que ser pudiese que al paresçer es tierra negra y buena y que si se hallase Sitio donde poblar tendria por mas açertado antes alli que en otra pte. paresçeme bien lo q̃ .V.s. dize aunque tengo por inconuiniente desamparar los puertos Si la poblacion no estuuiese tan çerca que en Vn dia Se pudiese Socorrer y en el Vno dellos se dexase alg^a manera de defensa donde pudiese quedar alg^a g^{te} para la descarga y carga de los nauios e para la guarda de los que se an de hazer adelante y reparar y pues [46 a] .V.s. tiene la cossa presente y

than the one which you took; those who have seen it say that it is a very good piece of workmanship. I should like it to serve for coming and going, that I may know promptly how you and that army are, what you are doing, and what it is suitable to consult about and order, to bring back any of the people who are especially ill and cannot serve, and to take from here others in their place, and [to attend to] other details. And if anything comes up there in which it can be used, this may be done provided it is detained for only a few days.

You say that you were thinking of sending a brigantine, a bateau, and a small shallop to the bay where you were anchored, namely, La Filipina, to go up the river in search of Upiachi.⁴⁶ They were to take a part of the supplies which I sent, but not any maize. They were to take clothing and cattle to the people who had gone inland. You are sure, from what you understand, that this can be none other than the river which comes from La Filipina. This would be an important thing if it were true, as you say, for to be able to provision the inland towns and those above the port by [using] the rivers would both for the present and in the future be of as great importance as would navigation from Mexico to San Juan de Ulúa. By this time the expedition made by captains Don Alonso de Castilla and Sotelo up the river which comes to the port of Santa María de Ochuse at which you have made a settlement, must have been studied and understood. It seems that it could not have been of importance, as the river makes many turns and flows so swiftly, and the land is not well populated. In view of what you say about how unhealthy the site of that port is, and how advantageous the Bahía Filipina seems to you, as well on account of the navigable rivers which flow into it as because it is more fertile and might be healthier, it would be well to move the town to that bay, or farther inland on the Río de Piachi⁴⁶ as close to the bay and port as possible. Apparently the land is black and good, and if a site be found where a settlement can be made it would be wiser to place one there rather than in any other place. What you say seems good to me, although I consider it unwise to leave the ports unprotected unless the settlement be made near enough so that in one day they may be succored, and unless some kind of defense is left at one of them, where some of the people might stay to load and unload the ships and guard those which are to be made in the future, and make repairs; and since [46 r] you have the situation before you

tendra Visto y entendido lo que mas conuiene no tengo en esto mas paresçer de Remitillo al de .V.s. conque como digo la primera poblacion este en parte donde se puedan socorrer los puertos porque demas de ser de grande importancia mandalo asy su mag^d Por la instruction que me imbio e yo di a .V.s.

V Bien acordado fue imbiar a caruajal el de mechoacan con los XII soldados adonde estan el Sargento mayor y don Xpoual con el auiso del socorro y de la md q̃ su mag^d haze y de lo q̃ yo hare en su real nombre luis daza lleua la carta orig^{al} q̃ su mag^d me escriuió para que se de mas credito a ella que al treslado Scriui A su mag^t luego como la resçui Supplicandole mandase acortar el tiempo de los diez años para empear a hazer las encomiendas tengo por çierto que sera seruido dello en el entretanto en las prouias. y pu^{os} q̃ .V.s. paçificare y dieren la obedi^a a su mag^d pondra las P^{ass}. que le paresçiere y les señalara el entretenimi^o Segun la qualidad de la trr^a e posibilidad de los naturales e yra .V.s. haciendo memoria de las prouias. y pu^{os} y señalando lo que le paresçe se deve poner en cabeça de su mag^d y lo que se pusiere en particulares y en que pss^a porque en el entretanto q̃ yo tuuiere el cargo todo se a de hazer como a .V.s. le paresçiere /.

V luis daza no a podido despacharse antes Por aguardar a que se adreçase el galeon sant Ju^o y por poder proueer las cosas nesçesarias que lleua y tambien porque al tiempo que començauan a resçuir la carga de la ropa y bastim^{os} se ofresçio despachar la flota para españa q̃ Van diez naos y en ellas mucha gente y haz^{da} y porque no se tropellase el Vn despacho al otro Se a aguardado A que partan las naos que Van a españa antes que las que Van a esa trr^a creo dios mediante se haran los dos nauios y el patax a la Vela en fin del prest^e / o en prinçipio de mayo lleuaran sesenta cauallos porque no caben mas en los dos nauios y entrellos lleuan quatro para .V.s. y ocho machos de carga que creo seran bien nesçesarios el ganado bastimentos y ropa e poluora que los nauios lleuan yra en Vna memoria firmada de mi nombre con esta los demas cau^{os} que aca auia de los soldados que alla estan atento

and will have seen and understood what is most fitting, I have no other opinion in the matter but to leave it to your judgment, provided, as I say, the first settlement be at a place from which the ports can be protected; for, aside from its being of great importance, this is what his Majesty commands in the instructions which he sent to me and I gave to you.

It was wisely decided to send Carbajal of Michoacán with the twelve soldiers to the place where the sargento mayor and Don Cristóbal are, with notice of the succor and of the grant which his Majesty makes and which I will make in his royal name. Luis Daza takes the original of the letter which his Majesty wrote me, in order that it may be more fully credited than the transcript. I wrote to his Majesty at once as soon as I received it, asking him to order the time shortened from the ten years before the encomiendas should be begun, and I think it certain that he will be pleased to do so. Meantime, in the provinces and towns which you pacify, and which give their allegiance to his Majesty, you will place the persons who seem suitable, and indicate their compensation according to the quality of the land and the capacity of the natives. You will proceed to make a memoir of the provinces and towns, indicating what should be placed under the direct control of his Majesty and what should be intrusted to private persons and to which persons. For in the meantime and while I have the command, everything is to be done as seems good to you.

Luis Daza has not been able to set out before on account of waiting until the galleon *San Juan* could be repaired, and until it should be possible to provide the necessary things which he takes, and also because at the time when they were beginning to receive the cargo of clothing and provisions the occasion came for dispatching the fleet to Spain. Ten ships are going, and in them many people and much treasure, so, in order not to cause confusion between the two in the despatch, we have waited until the vessels which go to Spain have sailed before dispatching those which go to your land. I think, God willing, that the two ships and the tender will set sail at the end of this month of the first of May. They will take only sixty horses, for there is not room for more in the two ships. Among them are four for you, and eight pack-mules, which I think will be quite necessary. A memoir of the cattle, supplies, clothing, and powder which the ships are taking will be signed with my name and goes herewith. In view of the fact that the other horses which you have here belonging to the soldiers

que de presente no se pueden llevar me paresçio que era bien Vendellos para que con el dinº se lleuen otros de la hauana. y que luego como luis daça llegue dios mediante y se descarguen los nauios Vayan a la hauana y el en ellos y que en este año hagan dos caminos con caualllos y ganados y que en el entretanto que hazen el Vn camino luis daça quede en la hauana y entre la trrª dentro hasta la çauana de basco por callo y traya de alli al puerto los cauºs y ganados que me dizen que los ay alli buenos y baratos. y si nro señor guarda los nauios podran meter en este año por lo menos dozientos caualllos Sin los que de aqui Van [46 b] y Razonable cantidad de ganado que creo son dos cosas las mas nesçesarias q̃ al presente .V.s. y su exerçito mas nesçesidad tiene /

V quanto a ymbiar caualllos y ganados por tierra por agora paresçe que tiene mucha dificultad hasta tanto que .V.s. tenga calada la tierra y segura hasta el Rio del espiritu santo y en que paraje esta en el entretanto se proueeran aca dos cosas. la Vna juntar hasta tres mill Vacas en el camino q̃ va a çacatecas hazia sant mñ. y mil y quiºs / o dos mill yeguas para que quando plaziendo a dios este el camino sabido y seguro se puedan llevar par la pte de Santiago de los Valles E hecho tentar el camino hasta LXX / o /LXXXº leguas de aqui y es tierra doblada y mala y despolada No ay que hazer qª de pensar que se puede yr por esta uia que es en parte la que truxo el portugues por el tunal que dizen de los chichimecas brauos que es treinta leguas mas adelante camino de las çacatecas entraran por el mes de mayo 20. de a caualllo y 300. yndios amigos y Veran que tierra ay la Via del norte camino del Rio del spiritu santo teniendose Vn poco hazia la mano derecha. y para quando sea de buelta la fragata auisare de lo que se entendiere deste camino /.

V Vi lo q̃ .V.s. dize que le paresçio bien lo que escriui de no entrar mucho la trrª dentro hasta auer asentado en algª buena pte y tener los caualllos y ganados nesçesarios para poderse estender mas creo lo habra hecho así deseo mucho saberlo y como le a ydo a .V.s. y a todos los caualleros y capitanes y en que partes tienen repartida la gente antes que luis daça parta. E para responder a lo que se me escriuiere e proueer lo nesçesº Sino Viniere la barca en

cannot be taken now, it has seemed best to me to sell them so that others can be taken from La Havana with the money. As soon as Luis Daza arrives through the help of God, and his ships are discharged, let them go to La Havana and he in them, so that two voyages may be made this year with horses and cattle. While they are making the first voyage, Luis Daza is to stay in La Havana and go inland to the Savanna de Vasco Porcallo⁴⁷ and bring from there to the port the horses and cattle, for they tell me that in that place they are good, and cheap. If our Lord preserves the ships, they may be able to introduce this year at least two hundred horses besides those which go from here, [46 v] and a reasonable number of cattle, for I believe they are the two most essential things of which at present you and your army have most need.

As to sending horses and cattle by land at present, it appears that this will be very difficult until you have examined the land thoroughly as far as the Río del Espíritu Santo [and know] where it is. Meantime two things will be ordered done here; first, to collect as many as three thousand cows on the road which runs to Zacatecas, near San Martín, and fifteen hundred or two thousand mares, so that when it pleases God that the road be known and safe they may be taken by way of Santiago de los Valles. I have had the road examined for seventy or ninety leagues from here. The country is rough and bad and unoccupied. It is not to be thought that the journey can be made this way; it is in part that which was followed by the Portuguese,⁴⁸ through the cactus country said to belong to the savage Chichimecs. This is thirty leagues farther along, on the road to Los Zacatecas. In the month of May twenty horsemen and three hundred friendly Indians will go in, keeping a little to the right hand, and see what kind of land there is on the road northward toward the Río del Espíritu Santo. When the frigate comes back I will advise you of what may have been learned concerning this road.

I saw that you say that what I wrote you seemed good, about not going far inland until a settlement had been made in some good place and you had the horses and cattle necessary to be able to extend farther out. I suppose you will have done this and I desire very much to know about it, and how it has gone with you and all those gentlemen and captains, and in what places the people are distributed; [you will write me about this] before Luis Daza leaves. And in order that I may reply to what you may write, and provide what is needful, if the bark does not come in the mean-

el entretanto luego como luis daça llegue despache .V.s. la chalupa dandome auiso de todo yeguas ni mulas no se lleuaren por agora hasta tanto que se pidan y como E dicho haziendo los nauios que agora Van dos caminos a la hauana se podran meter caualllos para toda o la mayor pte de la gente ganados Siempre se yran metiendo de alli y de aqui todo lo mas q̃ yo pudiere la flota que a de Venir de españa Se espera en todo este mes de abril / o principio de mayo si Viniere algun nauio q̃ se pueda tomar tengo acordado de ymbiarle a campeche para en que Vaya her^{do} de bracamonte y los demas soldados que alli se an juntado que por lo menos a lo que me escriuen seran hasta çinquenta Scriuenme que yran bien adreçados de caualllos y armas y que es gente abituada a los trabajos de indias y que sabran bien seruir a dios que e Scripto a la audiençia de guatimala por lic^a para el bracam^{te} y los demas e por / oras spero su respuesta en teniendola y Viniendo como digo la flota ymbiare Vn nauio a campeche que es lo q̃ [47 a] me piden / Para que siruan en lugar de los muertos y enfermos se hazen en esta çidad Hasta XXX. / o XL. soldados. Va por capitan Diego de biedma que es onrrado hijodalgo y soldado Viejo .V.s. le aya por encomendado y le onrre y fauorezca y el cargo de capitan no se le quite no haziendo el exçeso notable porque con esa condiçion Va yo le e dado mi palabra que no se le Remouera el cargo haziendo el lo que deue y que sera auido por de los primeros en los aprouechami^{os} de la tierra hasta agora No se la cantidad çierta que lleuara de gente Scriuillo E quando se acabe de hazer y se socorra y camine /.

V Bien me paresçe lo que .V.s. tiene acordado de poblar en la prouinçia de coça Pues se tiene entendido que es de lo mas fertil de la trr^a y esta en pte que se puede de alli acudir la buelta del Rio del spiritu S^{to} y de la punta de santa elena pero esto no me paresçe que se deue hazer hasta que tenga .V.s. g^{te} y caualllos y la trr^a sosegada para que se pueda descubrir lo Vno y lo otro seguramente y es muy bien considerado q̃ V.s. procure de aprouecharse de las riberas todo lo mas que pudiere y hasta tener mas fuerça

time, as soon as Luis Daza arrives you are to dispatch the shallop, giving me an account of everything. Neither mares nor mules will be sent at this time, and will not be until they are asked for. As I have already stated, since the ships now leaving are to make two voyages to La Havana, they will be able to carry horses [from there] for all or for most of the people. As many cattle as I can arrange for will be continuously sent both from here and from there. The fleet which is to come from Spain is expected at any time during the present month of April or the beginning of May. If any ship which can be taken comes [then] I have already effected an agreement that it shall be sent to Campeche to take [to you] Hernando de Bracamonte and the other soldiers who have been collected there, who number, according to what they have written me, at least fifty men. They write me that these men will go well equipped with horses and arms, that they are people accustomed to the fatigues of the Indies, and that they will know well how to be of service to God. I have written to the audiencia of Guatemala asking license for Bracamonte and the others to leave, and am now awaiting their reply. As soon as I have it, and when the fleet comes, as I say, I will send a ship to Campeche as I am asked [47 r] to do. In order that they may serve in the place of [your] dead and sick, there are being collected in this city some thirty or forty soldiers. As captain goes Diego de Biedma, who is an honest hidalgo and an old soldier. You will receive him as especially commended to you, honor him, and favor him; and do not commit the excess of depriving him of his position as a captain, for he goes under that condition. I have given him my word that he shall not be relieved of that rank if he does as he should, and that he shall be considered as among the first ones in the distribution of the land. As yet I do not know the exact number of men he will take, but I will write when the enlistment is completed, the provisions ready, and he is prepared to set out.

It seems well to me that you have decided to make a settlement in the province of Coosa, for it is understood to be in the most fertile part of the land, and is so situated that from it the route from the Río del Espíritu Santo to Santa Elena may be protected. But it seems to me that this should not be done until you have [more] people and horses and the country is sufficiently quieted that you may explore in each direction with safety. It is well considered for you to try to utilize the rivers as much as possible, and until you have a greater force of men, as I say, and horses

de gente como digo y cauallos y ganado paresçeme que no se deue Repartir la gente mas que en dos / o tres ptes y que de la Vna a la otra se puedan socorrer Siendo nesçes^o /.

V A su mag^d E Scripto lo suçedido en la jornada y con mis cartas fueron las de .V.s. y la R^{on} que Vltimamente Vino y le Supp^{co} que con la breuedad a q̃ sea posible m^{de} despachar dos nauios con hasta qui^os o Seiscientos spañoles que los mas sean gente del campo y que trayan las herrami^{as} nesçesarias para cultiuar la trr^a y embio a pedir otras cosas que me an paresçido conuenientes y nesçesarias tengo por cierto q̃ su mag^d lo mandara Proueer Supplicolo quan encaresçidam^{te} puedo que sea seruido hazer la md a .V.s. que le ymbio a supplicar y lleua el cargo de solici^{ta}llo hortuño de ybarra q̃ Va por general de la flota paresçiome ymbialle a que haga R^{on} a su mag^d del estado en que quedan las cosas de esta trr^a y de esa y lleua particular relaçion de todo y creençia mia pã su mag^t y Va a buena sazon porque el hallara en españa que Vino en saluam^o el Setiembre pasado como .V.s. entendera por la Relaçion de las nueuas que de alla tengo que yran con esta. /

V Visto lo que se me responde A la piedad que Vso el p^e. Vicario con el yndio q̃ se solto y de los inconuinentes que dello Resultaron No ay que tratar dello / Sino aduertir a que no suçeda cosa semejante tengo por çierto que el p^e Vicario y sus compañeros No impediran lo que conuenga pã el buen efecto de la jornada el libro de fray domingo de soto q̃.V.s. pide se imbio al p^e Vicario hare buscar otro y si se hallare le ymbiare dase el auiso por el p^e prouincial y por mi [47 b] De los que an Venido prohibidos de españa por el s^{to} / offi^o de la inquisiçion Porque lleuaron algs^o dellos y como entendera .V.s. Por la R^{on} de los autos q̃ se hizieron en Vallid y Seuilla es Cosa de gran compasion ver la g^{te} prinçipal y letrados que an caido en la mala seta del luter^o/.

V El tesorero y contador me Scriuen que tienen trabajo en el Repartir de los bastimentos y que no es offi^o suyo E dizen Verdad si a .V.s. le paresçe sera bien nombrar Vna persona que los resçiua

and cattle, it seems to me that the people ought not to be distributed in more than two or three places, and that these should be able to render assistance to each other, it being necessary.

I have written to his Majesty what happened on the voyage, and with my letters went yours and the account which came lately. I begged him to order sent with all possible promptness two ships with five or six hundred Spaniards, who should all be people from rural districts and bring the tools needed to cultivate the soil.⁴⁹ I am sending to ask for other things which have seemed to me necessary and convenient. I am sure that his Majesty will order it done. I am begging him as earnestly as I can that he be pleased to make you the grant for which you asked. The duty of bearing the request is confided to Hortuño de Ibarra, who goes as general of the fleet. It seemed to me wise to send him to give an account to his Majesty of the state in which things are in this land and in yours and he carries a special account of everything and a message of mine for his Majesty. He goes in good season, as he will find the latter in Spain, for he returned there in safety last September as you will learn from the account of the news I have from there and which goes herewith.

I have seen what you reply to me concerning the compassion shown by the father vicar toward the Indian who was set free, and concerning the misfortunes which resulted from the incident. There is no point in doing anything about it, except to take care that such a thing does not happen again. I am very sure that the father vicar and his companions will place no obstacles in the way of what is desirable for the happy result of the expedition. The book by Fray Domingo de Soto which you ask for was sent to the father vicar. I will have another looked for and if one is found I will send it to you. The search is being made by the father provincial and by me [47 v] among the books which have come from Spain though prohibited by the Holy Office of the Inquisition, for some of them were brought. As you will understand from the account of the autos, which occurred in Valladolid and Seville, it is a most pitiful thing to see how many important and learned people have fallen into the evil sect of Luther.

The treasurer and the accountant write me that they have [too much] work allotting the provisions, and that this is not their business. They tell the truth; if it seems good to you it would be well to name a person to receive the supplies from the officials and

de los oficiales y los reparta por q^{ta} y Razon entre todos y la den a los oficiales para que ellos la den a V.s^a

- V^o La Venida de luis daza fue a^çertada por que el a entendido con todo cuidado y puesto buena diligencia en el despacho de los dos nauios que fueron con el socorro y en el que el lleua y .V.s. lo a considerado bien en no dar li^a a p^{sonas} de qualidad porque çierto es inconuiniente. P^o perez que fue por contador de la compa^{nia} de V.s. lleo aqui quinze dias a bien desalumbrado porque ni traxo carta de .V.s. ni Razon de su Venida ni da otra mas de que se ymbio a la hauana con çiertos spa^{ñoles} y indios enfermos y q̃ de alli vino a campeche y de campeche aqui por Ver a su madre y deudos dize que se boluera con luis da^{ça} no se si lo hara por ser de los nasçidos E criados en esta laguna de oy mas no hallaran en ella los Regalos y abundancia que solian tener porque tambien se acaba lo de aqui como en otra Pt^e y serles a nesçes^o yrlo a buscar porque en la haz^{da} R^{al} aun no ay para cumplir lo ordinario y yo tengo presupuesto que aunque lo huuiese de no dar Vn tomin sino fuese a los que estan ocupados en el seruicio de su mag^t y asi lo tienen entendido y .V.s. tenga entendido que siendo n^{ro} señor seruido que esa trr^a se pacifique que no faltaran pobladores de la nueva spa^{ña} y de la Vieja y tengo por çierto que su mag^d. a de hazer mucha md a .V.s. y a los caualleros y capitanes que lleuo en su compa^{nia} yo me ofrezco si Viuo a soliçitarlo y ocuparme prinçipalmente en esto /.

- V^o Lo que por alla se dize y de aca se escriue que despues que se hizo la jornada no ay por aca quien robe ni saltee no an dicho ni Scrito Verdad porque no an faltado ni faltan gente Ruin que haga estos exçesos y los que los hazen yo se que quedaron en la trr^a y dios sabe el trabajo q̃ yo paso para hazellos buscar y castigar /. de que no tengan los capitanes el cuidado que es Razon de tener su g^{te}. bien disçiplinada y en orden y el buen recado que conuiene en las armas me pesa quanto es Razon no lo debrian hazer pues Veen que estan en trr^a donde las an menester y que costaron muchos dineros Scriuoles lo que me paresçe sin dalles a entender q̃ .V.S. me auiso d [sic] dello [48 a] Dozientas Zeladas lleua luis da^{ça}

allot them to everyone, keeping check and account thereof and turning this over to the officials, that they may give it to you.

The coming of Luis Daza was wise, for he has undertaken very carefully, and has shown great diligence in, the despatch of the two ships which went with the supplies, and in which he went. You have decided wisely not to give license [to leave] to persons of quality, for this surely would be inconvenient. Pedro Pérez, who went as accountant for your company, arrived here two weeks ago, apparently dazed, for he brought no letter from you, nor gave any reason for his coming, nor does he give any, save that he was sent to La Havana with certain sick Spaniards and Indians; that from there he came to Campeche, and from Campeche here to see his mother and relatives. He says that he will return with Luis Daza; I do not know whether he will or not, for he is one of those born and raised on this lake. From now on they will not find here the ease and abundance which they used to have, for [funds] here have given out as they have elsewhere, and it will be necessary for them to get out and search for [a living] for there is not enough in the royal treasury to fulfil ordinary obligations, and I have such a budget that although there were plenty I could not give a *tomín*⁵⁰ except to those who are busy in the service of his Majesty; and so they have understood, and you may be assured that if our Lord be pleased that that land should be pacified there will not be lacking settlers from New and Old Spain. And I am sure that his Majesty will show great favor to you and to those gentlemen and captains whom you took in your company. I promise if I live to solicit it and to concern myself chiefly therewith.

What is said there and written from here, to the effect that after the expedition went no one is left here who robs or commits assault, is not truthfully written nor spoken, for there have not lacked nor do there lack low persons who commit these excesses, and those who commit them I know very well remained in this country. God knows the trouble I had to have them sought and punished. That your captains do not take proper care to keep their men well disciplined and in good order and their arms in proper condition pains me much, and they ought not to permit this; for they can see that they are in a land where arms are needed and cost a great deal of money. I am writing them what I think without giving them to understand that you had informed me about this. [48 r] Luis Daza is taking two hundred helmets cov-

guarnesçidas de hoja de lata creo seran mas fuertes y duraran mas tiempo que las que se lleuaron tambien lleua 110. /o 120. frascos de cuerno que en tierra fria y Vmeda conseruarian mejor la poluora que no los de palo y duran mas tiempo y Siruen para cargar y ceuar si salieren bu^{os} .V.s. me de auiso porque ymbiare mas tambien lleua No Se quantas arrobas de mecha no a salido tal como quisiera alla se boluera a torcer y estirar que con hazer esto seruira pena me a dado por lo que V.s. me escriue del poco cuidado que la gente tiene de conseruar las armas offensiuas y defensiuas porque de mas de ser nesçesarias cuestan mucho y gastase tpo y trabajo en hazellas hazer. V.s. prouea con Rigor como se guarden y traten bien de los arcabuçes que an Venido de españa E mandado que se den çiento en la Veracruz a luis daça con sus frascos y frasquillos y morriones de hierro Scriuenme que es muy buena munición tambien lleua 400. açadas y 150. hachas hechizas en bizcaya .V.S. me de auiso Si es menester mas munición que esta porque se imbian Rodelas no ymbia porque .V.S. me escriue que alla las ay y se podran escusar las de teguantepeque /.

V A todos esos caualleros y capitanes escriuo conforme a lo que a .V.s. le paresze y la copia de alg^{as} de las cartas sera con esta .V.s. los onrre y fauorezca y les haga mdl. en todo aquello que ouiere lugar espeçialmente en el tratami^o e palabras es Razon que sean onrrados de .V.s. y animados para que con mejor Voluntad le obedezcan y Siruan /.

V en la proui^{on} de los cargos como .V.s. abra Visto por la copia de la que su m^t me escriuio Se Remite a que se haga como me paresçiere y tengo Scripto a .V.s. que lo prouea en las prouinçias y pu^{os} que houieren dado la obediencia. como le paresçiere Vna de las cartas originales que su mag^d. me escriuio lleua luis daça Para que la Vea y la tenga y muestre a esos cau^{os} y capitanes y esse exerçito espero que su mag^d mandara acortar el tiempo de los diez años en que mando que los yndios no tributasen entendidos los inconuinientes que le e sCripto que ay para no se poder sustentar el exerçito sin gran costa de su mag^d y trauajos suyos /.

ered with tin. I think they will be stronger and last longer than those you took with you. He is also taking one hundred and ten or one hundred and twenty horn flasks which will preserve the powder better in a damp cold country than wooden ones; they will last longer, and be useful for loading and priming. If they work well let me know, and I will send more. He is also taking I do not know how many *arrobas*⁵¹ of matchcord. It did not turn out as well as I could have wished. It will [need to be] twisted and pulled again there, and if this is done, it will serve. It pained me to learn what you write me about the little care which the men take to conserve their offensive and defensive arms, for, aside from the fact that they are necessary, they cost a great deal and much time and labor is spent in making them. You will give strict orders how to care for and preserve the arquebuses which came from Spain. I have ordered that one hundred of them be given to Luis Daza in La Vera Cruz, together with their powder-horns and small flasks and iron helmets. They write me that these are very good munitions. He is also taking four hundred spades and one hundred and fifty axes made in Biscay. Please tell me whether more munitions than these are needed, that they may be sent. I am sending no shields, for you write me that there are some there, and that those from Tehuantepec need not be sent.

I am writing to all those gentlemen and captains in conformity with what you suggest. A copy of some of the letters goes herewith. You will honor and favor them and show them kindness in everything that occurs, especially in your dealings and speech with them; for it is right that they should be honored by you, and animated to serve and obey you with better will.

In the appointment to positions, as you will have seen from the copy of the order which his Majesty wrote me, he indicates that it should be done as may seem best to me, and I have written to you that you should make appointments in the provinces and towns which may have given in their obedience, as you may see fit. Luis Daza carries one of the original letters which his Majesty wrote me, in order that you may see it, have it, and show it to those gentlemen and captains and to that army. I hope that his Majesty will order shortened the period of ten years during which he commanded that the Indians should pay no tribute, when he understands the difficulty which exists, concerning which I have written him, of maintaining the army [otherwise] without great cost and trouble to himself.

V Vi lo que. V.s. me escriue de que aunque el p^e Vicario y los religiosos que con el estan hazen lo que pueden en el administrar los sacramentos a los españoles en la confesion no ay tan buen recado como conuernia. sobre esto Scriuo al p^e Vicario y el p^e Prouinçial le escriue [48 b] encargandole que se esfuerçe a confesar y consolar a todos y administrar los sacramentos en el entretanto que Van de esta trr^a mas Religiosos el padre fray greg^o de beteta es Venido de españa dicenme que con intento de yr luego a esa trr^a no es llegado a esta çidad como me Vea con el sabre su determinaçion y si fuere de yr despachalle E con toda breuedad para que pueda yr en los nauios que lleua a cargo luis daça y lleuara consigo Vno / o dos compañeros con el y con los que fueren y alla estan creo habra bastante recado para administrar los sacramen^{os} a los spañoles en el entretanto que se / ocupan con los yndios y porque con el si fuere Scriuire mas largo sobre esta materia aqui no dire mas el padre barandalla buen clerigo es y Virtuoso y que desea açertar pero sus opiniones y Rezia condiçion que tiene es nesçesario q̃ V.s. le temple El padre prouinçial me dize que escriue al p^e Vicario que no le impida la administraçion de los sacrame^{os} entre los spañoles pues no basta el ni sus compañeros /.

V Bien fue señalar salario a los marin^{os} y carpinteros y calafates que ay quedaron y es Razon que se les pague pues es gente que Viue de su trabajo y por no se ymbiar la nomina de los que son y sus nombres y el tpo que an seruido no se les ymbia agora alguna paga /o socorro .V.s. la m^{de} ymbiar con el primero nauio que Venga y embiarseles a y en el entretanto se socorran de la Ropa y calçado que agora se lleua y del mantenimi^o que houieren menester mas cumplidamente que a otros a que an Venido con liç^a se les a pagado la mi^{or} pte del tpo que siruieron y el dinero que dellos se tomo para traer de la hauana cau^{os} y ganados las mantas que auia en esta casa como creo digo atras lleua luis daça Seruiran para Reparar los que se ouieren gastado y porque es mejor ropa para armas y otras cosas la de campeche que la de

I saw what you write to me saying that, although the father vicar and the religious who are with him do all they can to administer the sacraments to the Spaniards in confession, there is not as much care in this as there should be. I am writing about this to the father vicar, and the father provincial is writing to him [48 v] urging him to exert himself to confess and console everyone, and to administer the sacraments during the interval until more religious go from this land. Father Fray Gregorio de Beteta⁵² has come from Spain; they tell me it is with the intent to go at once to that land. He has not yet reached this city, but as soon as I see him I will learn what his purpose is, and if it is to go I will send him with all promptness, so that he may go with the ships which Luis Daza commands. With him he will take one or two companions, so that including himself, those who go with him, and those who are there, I believe there will be sufficient effort made to administer the sacraments to the Spaniards at the same time as they are busy with the Indians. As I will write more at length concerning this matter, to send by him if he goes, I will say no more here. Father Barandalla is a good clergyman and virtuous, and desires to do right, but his strong opinions and the difficult temperament which he has you will have to temper. The father provincial tells me that he is writing to the father vicar not to hinder his administration of the sacraments among the Spaniards, for the vicar and his companions together are insufficient.

It was well to assign a salary to the sailors, carpenters, and caulkers who remained there, and it is right to pay them, for they are people who live by their labor; but as you have not sent the list of who they are, their names, or the time they have served, I am not at this time sending them any pay or subsistence. Please send the [payroll] by the first ship to come, and it will be sent to them. Meanwhile, let them be provided with clothing and shoes from the present shipment, and with such maintenance as may be necessary, more fully than to others. Those who came by [your] permission have been paid for the greater part of the time which they served, and [they have been reimbursed] the money which was taken from them with which to bring horses and cattle from La Havana. The blankets which were in this [royal] house, as I think I said farther back, are being taken by Luis Daza. They will serve to replace those which have worn out, and inasmuch as the clothing of Campeche is better than that of this New Spain for arms and other things, it will be arranged to

esta nueva spaña Se proueera como se lleuen de alli en el nauio que A de yr a llevar la g^{te} que alli esta presta e porque estoy aguardando por /oras las liçençias que a de dar el audiençia de guatimala a la gente que de aquella proui^a a de yr. hasta tenerlas no dire en esta lo çierto de la cantidad de personas y caualllos que yran como la tenga auisare creo Vendran antes que luis daça parta /.

V La memoria de los ganados caualllos y bastimentos que Van en estos nauios yra con esta y luis daza lleuara otra .V.s. lo mandara Repartir como le paresca que conuiene y si fuere nesçes^o que el ganado de su mag^d se ponga aparte y se tenga q^{ta} con ello y con el multiplico .V.s. lo proueera y si conuiniere mas para que se multiplique repartillo por personas dandosele por propio Vera .V.s. lo que sea mas conueniente /. creo Sera lo mas açetado repartillo /.

[49 a] V Deseo mucho que . V.s. tuuiese toda su gente a cauallo Porque entiendo que harian mas efecto 400. que mill y para esto me a paresçido que los nauios que agora Van hiziesen en este año dos cami^os a la hauana y metiesen hasta 150. /o dozi^os caualllos y alg^os ganados y para esto lleua luis daza algun din^o y la cantidad no digo porque no se la que se le podra dar E le encargado que el Vaya a la hauana y ã compre lo que buenamente podiere auer y despache los nauios y quede alli a comprar y recoger lo que se a de llevar en la seg^{da} barcada y con ello se Vaya y si a .V.s. le paresçe que seria bien que residiese en el puerto en la parte donde se houiere mudado /o mudare el pueblo donde se an de resçiuir los caualllos bastim^os y ganados y gente y lo que mas se a de llevar desta trr^a de aqui adelante pã que el lo resçiua y tenga q^{ta} con todo para que acuda con ello al tesorero y contador o a la persona que .V.s. señalare lo prouea como le parezca

V Vi lo que .V.s. dize sobre que con los religiosos no conuiene alargar tanto la mano en lo de los bastim^os porque guardan lo que se les da y se aprouechan de lo de todos costumbre es antigua y con hazello asi siempre les falta lo nesçes^o de aqui adelante no se proueeran de golpe Sino poco a poco como a .V.s. le paresçe /.

V No se a podido despachar luis daça ni los nauios por lo que ade-

bring some from there in the ship which is to go to fetch the people who are there being got ready. Since I am momentarily awaiting the licenses which the audiencia of Guatemala is to give the people who are to go from that province, I will not attempt until I receive them to say in this letter with certainty what number of persons and horses will go. As soon as I receive them I will notify you; I think they will come before Luis Daza leaves.

The memoir of the cattle, horses, and supplies which go in these ships will accompany this letter, and Luis Daza will take another memoir. You will order the things allotted as you judge proper, and if it be necessary to separate his Majesty's cattle from the rest and keep an account of them and of how they multiply you will order it done. But if it seems more desirable to allot them to individuals, giving them to such persons for their own in order that they may multiply better, you will see which would be better. I believe it would be wiser to allot them.

[49 r] I wish very much that you had all your men mounted, for I consider that four hundred [mounted] would be more effective than a thousand [on foot]. Hence it has seemed to me wise that the ships which go now should make two voyages this year to La Havana and introduce as many as one hundred and fifty or two hundred horses and some cattle. For this purpose Luis Daza is taking some money. I do not mention the amount, for I do not know how much can be given him. I have charged him to go to La Havana, buy all that he well can find there, and dispatch the ships [with them]. He is to stay there to buy and collect those which are to be taken on the second voyage, going with them himself. And if it seems wise to you that it would be well for him to reside at the port to which you have moved or are going to move the town where the horses, supplies, cattle, and the people are to be received with whatever else has to be taken from this land from now on, so that he may receive them and keep an account of everything and make report of it to the treasurer and accountant or to the person you may name, you will order it as you see fit.

I saw what you say about its not being proper to be so lavish to the religious with provisions, because they keep what is given to them and use those of everyone. This is an old custom, and even if they do it they are always lacking something necessary. From this time on do not give them all their supplies at once but a little at a time as seems good to you.

It has not been possible to send Luis Daza or the ships because

lante dire En acabando de responder a la de V.s. con pena estoy y no poca de no auer sabido lo que a suçedido despues que los nauios Vinieron si houiera barca /o fragata alg^a de respecto pudierase auer hecho E para poder saber mas a menudo de .V.s. y de lo que suçede E hecho hazer el nauio Vergantin que Va con los nauios que me dizen todos los que le an Visto que es muy buena pieça Si alla no fuere muy nesçes^o seruira para que V.s. me de auiso mas en breue que hasta aqui y podra Venir por la costa Sondando y marcando las baias y pu^{os} que ay de aya al Rio del spiritu s^{to} y de alli para aca /.

V^r El nauio françes me dizen que haze alg^a agua y que podia ser que no estouiese para yr de ay a la hauana Si fuere asi .V.s. proueeera como Vaya en su lugar la barca de la ymposiçion porque en ella y en el galeon san Ju^o y en el patax del piloto gayon se puedan hazer los dos caminos que digo con caualllos y ganados /.

V^r A ortiz y a romero les ymbio sendos caualllos. Si llegaren Viuos .V.s. mande se les den y les haga toda la m^d y fauor que ouiere lugar que la resçiuire por propia /

V^r Luis daça lleua otra relaçion de como se beneficia el azogue y el modo de las Xabecas donde se saca porque sin esto no se puede bien hazer Si por [49 b] alla se hallase seria gran bien para esa trr^a y para esta tengo por çierto dios mediante se hallaran y tambien minas de plata como .V.s. dize porque en tan larga trr^a no es posible que no las aya N^{ro} Señor lo encamine como se sirua y se plante en ese nueuo mundo n^{ra} santa fee que es lo que .V.s. y yo pretendemos /.

V^r creo E dicho los caualllos ganados y bastimentos que lleuan estos nauios y Va cumplido en parte lo que .V.s. ymbio a pedir y si algo falta es porque no pueden llevar los nauios mas Siempre que aya nauio en que se yra cumpliendo y supliendo la nescsidad que alla houiere lo mejor q̃ yo pudiere / a lo que .V.S. toca de çayas y otros no ay que responder mas de lo dicho y que .V.s. conforme a la qualidad de sus personas y meritos de sus serui^{os} los onrré y fauorezca en todo lo que houiere lugar y paresçeme que si no fuere con extrema nesçsidad no se debe dar liç^a A nadie alg^{os} mestiços y mulatos yran en esta barcada aunque pocos

of what I will say farther on when I finish answering your letter. I am no little pained not to have known what happened after the ships came. If there had been a bark or a frigate in reserve it might have been sent to me, and in order that I may hear more frequently from you and know what is going on, I have had the brigantine made which goes with the ships. All who have seen it say that it is a good piece of workmanship. If it is not very necessary to you there it will serve for you to send me word more quickly than hitherto, and it might come along the coast taking soundings and marking the bays and ports which exist between there and the Río del Espíritu Santo, and from that place to here.

They tell me that the French ship⁵³ is leaking some and might not be in condition to go from there to La Havana. If this is so you will order sent in its stead the bark *La Imposición*, for in it, the galleon *San Juan*, and the tender of the pilot Gayón, the two voyages I speak of can be made with horses and cattle.

I am sending horses to both Ortiz⁵⁴ and Romero. If they reach you alive have them given to those men, and show them all the consideration and favor there is opportunity for, and I will consider it as though you had done so to myself.

Luis Daza takes another account of the method of extracting mercury and of operating the nets in which it is dried, for without doing this it cannot be properly processed. If [49 v] [this mineral] should be found there it would be a great advantage for that land and for this, I think certainly, God willing, it will be found, and also silver mines, as you say, for in such a great land it is not possible that there should not be any. May our Lord direct it as he will, and may our holy faith be planted in that new world, which is what you and I are working for.

I believe I have mentioned the horses, cattle, and supplies which these ships are taking; thus a part of what you sent asking for is complied with. If anything is lacking, it is because the ships cannot carry more. Whenever there is a ship by which the necessity which exists there can be met and supplied, I will do the best I can. As to what you mention concerning Zayas and others, there is nothing to reply more than has already been said, and that you should, in conformity with the quality of their persons and the value of their services, honor and favor them at every opportunity. It seems to me that unless it be a case of extreme necessity, licenses should not be given to anyone. Some half-castes and mulattoes will go with this shipment although only a few. It is taken into

tenerse A cuenta en condenarse a los mas que sentençiare esta Real audi^a que Vayã a servir a ese exerçito y de ordinario que Vayan nauios se yran ymbiando alg^{os} tambien se trata de que Vayan yndios y hasta saber en particular como les Va a los que alla estan no se determina si yran como entiendan que les Va bien no faltara gente que Vaya al alld mi^{or} Scriuo que si esta en su poder el marinero que se condeno a diez a^{os} de destierro que le ymbie y si le tiene y es biuo lo hara asi. /

V Dize .V.s. que le ymbie Vn par de indios que sepan hazer caxas de arcabuçes hasta agora no he podido acabar con dos o tres que aqui ay q̃ las hazen que quiera yr ning^o dellos creo se podran escusar por agora con la munición que se ymbia que a Venido de españa que son 130. /o /. 140 arcabuçes con sus fraços y frasquillos y morriones de hierro y si alla no houiere quien sepa hazer las caxas /o quien repare las quebradas que no pueden servir mande .V.s. ymbiallas aca que se repararã o ymbiaran otras /.

V Dize .V.s. que no piensa dar ning^a luc^a. [*sic*: lic^a.] a persona alg^a sino es a los que piensa que se an de morir sino se les da y que de aca no se conçeda por mi ning^a .V.s. pierda cuidado que asi se hara. a los alferez que eran de don al^o de castilla y di^o tellez no se les de por ninguna Via. /

V Bien fue dar comision a miguel martinez para que Vsase su offi^o atento que es abil y que dio informacion que es Scriu^o real y hasta tanto que aya otros que lo Vsen sera bien que lo sea ese y lo Vse si la nesçesidad de su muger es tanta como se significa remediarse a lo mejor que pudiere

[50 a] V Hasta agora no a pareseçido ãte mi mñ de tobar hr^o de Xpoual Verdugo alferez de sotelo acudiendo a mi y mostrando çedula de su mag^d. hare lo que pudiere por mandallo .V.s. y por ser hermano de Xpoual Verdugo que tan bien sirue. / Las cosas de botica se an proueido lo mas cumplidam^{te} q̃ se a podido como V.s. entendera de luis daça/.

V Dize V.s. que entiende que los Naturales que estan çerca de la costa que an de ser de poco prouecho por ser gente holgazana y que si se apretasen segun la poca haz^{da} y raizes que tienen Seria causa

account in most cases in which this royal audiencia passes sentence that [the criminals] shall go to perform services for that army, and ordinarily when ships go a few will be sent. An effort is also being made to send some Indians, but until I know in detail how it fares with those who are there, it will not be decided whether they will go or not. If they understand that it fares well with them, there will be no lack of people to go. I am writing to the alcalde mayor that if he has in his charge the sailor who was condemned to ten years' exile he shall send him; if he has the man and the latter is living, he will do so.

You ask me to send you two Indians who know how to make arquebus stocks. Until now I have not been able to finish with two or three who are making them here, and not one of them wants to go. I think they may be excused for the time being, considering the munitions now being sent which have come from Spain. There are one hundred and thirty or forty arquebuses with powder-horns and flasks and iron helmets. If there is no one there who knows how to make the stocks or who can repair the broken ones which cannot be used, you will order them sent here and they will be repaired or others will be sent.

You say that you do not think of giving any license to any person save to those you think are going to die unless they are given one, and [you ask] that none be given by me here. You need not worry, for I shall not do so. By no means let licenses be given to the ensigns who were with Don Alonso de Castilla and Diego Téllez.

It was proper to give a commission to Miguel Martínez to serve in his official [capacity] considering that he is proficient and gave proof that he is a royal notary. Until there shall be others who can exercise this office it will be well that he keep it and you use him. If his wife's necessity is as great as he represents, it should be relieved as may be possible.

[50 r] Up to now Martín de Tobar, the brother of Cristóbal Verdugo the ensign of Sotelo, has not appeared before me. When he applies to me, and shows me his Majesty's cedula, I will do all I can since you ask it, and since he is a brother of Cristóbal Verdugo, who serves so well. The drugs have been provided as fully as possible, as you will learn from Luis Daza.

You say that you learn that the natives who are near the coast will likely be of little use because they are lazy, and that if they are treated with rigor, this and the scantiness of the possessions

para desterrarse de su naturaleza y yrse a otras ptès y que por esto paresze que la prinçipal paçificacion que en esa trr^a Se a de hazer para conseruar la gente della A de ser haziendo pu^{os} de españoles en todas las proui^{as} y partes que houiere gente y disposiçion para ello como yo dixè siempre a .V.s. que me paresçia se deuia hazer y que dende las nueuas poblaçiones Se fuesen paçificando y atrayendo asi mas por bu^{as} obras y regalos que por fuerça y que esto se debia hazer de manera que no se confiase mucho dellos y que para que esto se pueda hazer conuiene que se prouea de gente porque Vna de las cosas que a de sosegar y amansar a los naturales a de ser Ver sembrar y coger a los españoles y sustentarse sin ellos y para que esto se pueda hazer conuiene que de aqui y de españa se prouea a lo nesçe^{os} dho E que por mi pte se hara quanto sea posible y esta entendido que es como .V.s. lo dize E porque adelante tratando de lo que su mag^d manda Satisfare a esto no lo hago en este capitu^o /.

V Dize .V.s. que hasta la hecha de su carta no auia ocupado en entrada ninguna a don p^o de acuña y no porque no aya conoçido en el la Voluntad que tiene al serui^o de su mag^d y Juntamente con esto ser tan buen cauallero como es y que agrauiandose el desto le a respondido que si no le a ocupado como a los demas capitanes a sido por tener a su cargo la artilleria y muniçiones y ser nesce^{os} estar cada dia p^{se}nte para mandallas dar quando sea menester y tambien por el buen recado de todo pues en esto esta toda la fuerça del campo faltando los cauillos y que don p^o me scriue que por estar mas desocupado para servir a su mag^d me pide q̃ [50 b] que se le quite el cargo de la artilleria y se de a Julian de acuña su deudo paresçeme que sera bien que se haga asi Sino se houiere hecho y se de el cargo de artilleria y muniçiones a Julian de acuña Porque don p^o de acuña este desocupado pues teniendola Julian de acuña es todo Vno y podra estar presente y le instruira en lo que deua hazer y no es nesçe^o que de aca Se quite el cargo a don p^o y se le de a Julian de acuña pues .V.s. lo puede hazer y basta q̃ yo se lo scriua /

and roots which they have will cause them to go into exile from their native territory into other parts, and that it therefore seems that the principal pacification to be effected in that land should be for the purpose of conserving its people, and that this will have to be done by establishing towns of Spaniards in all the provinces and parts where there are people and the facilities for so doing. This is what I always told you I thought ought to be done, and that thereafter new towns might be gradually pacified, the Indians being attracted thus rather by good works and gifts than by force, but that this ought to be done without placing much confidence in them. In order that this may be done, it is necessary that people be provided, for one of the things which will quiet the natives and make them gentle will be to see the Spaniards sow and reap and support themselves without their help. In order that this may be done it is fitting to supply from here and from Spain what is necessary. I have said that on my part all will be done that is possible, and it is understood that it is as you say, and since I shall discuss this farther on in treating of what his Majesty commands, I will not do so in this chapter.

You say that up to the date of your letter you have not employed Don Pedro de Acuña on any expedition, not because you do not recognize in him the good will which he has for his Majesty's service, or what a good knight he is; that he considered himself aggrieved because of this, and that you replied to him that you had not employed him as you had the other captains because, he being in charge of the artillery and munitions, it was necessary for him to be present every day in order to give them out as occasion demanded, and also to keep everything in good order, for the whole force of the camp lies in this [artillery], since horses are lacking. Don Pedro writes to me asking that he be relieved of command of the artillery so that [50 v] he may be more free to serve his Majesty, and that it be given to his relative, Julián de Acuña; it seems to me that it would be well to do this if it has not already been done, and that charge of the artillery and munitions be given to Julián de Acuña so that Don Pedro de Acuña may be less occupied. For if Julián de Acuña has this in charge it will amount to the same thing, as Pedro can be present and will instruct him in what he ought to do; hence it will not be necessary to take action here depriving Don Pedro of his command and giving it to Julián de Acuña, for you can do it yourself, and it will be sufficient that I should write to him to this effect.

V Porque no se si e respondido a lo que .V.s. me escriuió de que fue de poco prouecho lo que se truxo de la hauana digo que para pagar lo que se gasto conforme a la mem^a a los que aquí an paresçido y a sus poderes se a pagado como dira luis daza. y si algo a quedado por pagar a sido por no auer paresçido las ps^s ni los recados pesome que se perdiese la fragata en que fue sebastian de gamboa porque siruiera de correr la costa y descubrir las baias y pu^{to} s. y si es tan bu^o el de miruelo como dizen conuerna que .V.s. le haga Ver y Sondar porque algun dia podra ser nesçes^o /.

V Dize .V.s. que la yndia que tiene mi S^a doña beatriz seria nesçesaria para lengua y la casada en tlascala la que tiene mi cuñada es la mas simple cosa del mundo y que esta tullida si sanare ymbialla E y la de tlascala se a escondido si la pudiere auer la ymbiare tambien .V.s. me auise si son menester. /.

V Bien me paresze lo que tenia .V.s. acordado de tomar los cau^{os} que traxo el tesorero de la hauana y repartillos entre los soldados que no los tuuieren y que su mag^d pague el dinero que costaron pero si no esta hecho sera bien diferillo si las mas p^{sonas} de cargo no estouieren en ello. en los nauios que agora Van se lleuan .60. caualllos de los que aca quedaron por que no pueden llevar mas entre estos .60. Van quatro de .V.s. y ocho azemilas de carga que me paresçe seran mas nesçesarias que los caualllos. de los que aca quedaron se an Vendido los mas ruines y el dinero que por ellos se dio lleua luis daza para que se trayan de la hauana y se den a cuyos eran y los que Van a sus dueños /.

V Luis daza lleua dos mill p^{os} para traer caualllos y bestias de carga y algun ganado de la hauana. y E ordenado que luego como se descarguen los nauios Vayan a la hauana y luis daza en ellos y que dios [51 a] mediante hagan este año dos caminos con caualllos y ganados y q̃ el quede en la hauana a recoger lo que se houiere de ymbiar hasta que buelua en la seg^{da} barcada y que buelto paresçiendole a V.s. que resida en el puerto/ o en el pu^o que se huuiere poblado çerca del A resçiuir lo que se ymbiare asi de españa como de aqui y de otras Ptes para tener q^{ta} con todo y dalla a .V.s. y aca

As I do not know whether I replied to what you wrote saying that what was brought from La Havana was of little service, let me say that in order to pay for what was bought, according to the memoir, there has been paid to those who have appeared here and to their representatives the sums which Luis Daza will mention. If anything remains unpaid this is because neither the creditors nor their bills have arrived here. I was grieved at the loss of the frigate in which Sebastián de Gamboa sailed, for it would have served to run the coast and discover the bays and ports. If the port of Miruelo is as good as they say, it would be wise for you to have it inspected and sounded, for some day it may be necessary.

You say that the Indian whom my niece, Doña Beatrice, has would be useful as an interpreter, as would the other married woman of Tlaxcala whom my sister-in-law has. This is the simplest thing in the world; she is badly crippled, but if she recovers I will send her. The Tlaxcala woman has hidden, but if she can be found I will send her too. You will please advise me if they are necessary.

It seems to me well that you decided to take the horses which the treasurer of La Havana brought, and to distribute them among the soldiers who did not have any, [asking] that his Majesty pay the money that they cost; but if this has not been done it would be best to defer it unless most of the persons who are in command are agreed to it. In the ships which are now going there are being taken [only] sixty of the horses which were left here because they cannot carry any more. Among them are four of yours, and eight pack-mules which I think will be more useful than the horses. The poorest ones of those left here have been sold, and the money which was given for them is being taken by Luis Daza to obtain more from La Havana, and these will be given to the men whose horses were sold; those being sent go to their owners.

Luis Daza is taking two thousand pesos to bring horses, pack animals, and some cattle from La Havana. I have ordered that as soon as the ships are discharged they shall go to La Havana, Luis Daza with them, and God [51 r] willing they are to make two voyages with horses and cattle. He is to stay in La Havana to collect whatever animals he can to send until he returns on the second shipment. When he returns, if you think wise, he is to reside at the port or at the town near by it where you may have made a settlement, to receive the things sent from Spain as well as from here and other parts, and to keep account of everything

quando se ofresçiere porque çierto es mucho el dinero que se a gastado y gasta y conuiene que aya buena q^{ta} de todo aca y alla./

V El neg^o de doña fran^{ca} de la cueua y consortes no esta sentençiado creo se sentençiará dentro de 8./o 10 dias y entiendo se haran bien sus neg^{os} con lo dicho creo tengo respondido a la de .V.s. y sera bien ñs^r lo que de nuevo se ofresçe./ La flota que se esperaua de españa lleo en saluam^o aunque no Juntas todas las naos el domi^o de ramos entraron dos y en Vna dellas Vino don luis mi hijo terna .V.s. en el Vn seruidor mas y si fuere nesçes^o que Vaya a esa trr^a a seruille y tenelle conpañia lo hara dexo con salud a su madre y her^{os} y el Rey nño señor hera Venido en españa y quedaua en toledo esperando A la Reina para casarse las demas nuevas que en particular se pueden dezir lleua por mem^a luis daza /.

V La que Va con esta es copia de otra que su mag^d me escriuio En que me m^{da} como .V.s. por ella entendera que le ymbie con toda presteza la que a V.s. Scriue que Va con esta en que manda que se pueble con toda breuedad en la punta de santa elena porque se sospecha que no obst^e que tiene paz con françia podrian entrar por alli françeses / o escoçeses a tomar posesion en trr^{as} de su mag^d y ocupallas respondo a su mag^d como ymbio su carta en estos nauios y la proui^{on} que en ello se haze y que ay alg^a dificultad en poderse poblar tan Supito como lo manda en la punta de santa elena asi porque no conuiene despoblar ni desamparar lo que esta poblado como porque la g^{te} no puede yr por trr^a sin tener quantidad de cau^{os} y que teniendolos y dexando Seguro lo que queda atras .V.s. yra /o imbiara a Ver que ay en lo de Santa elena y poblarlo si .V.s. Vee que lo puede hazer sin auenturar mucho paresçeme se deue cumplir lo que su mag^d manda porque se [51 b] haze tanta instancia sobre ello debe tener indicios que g^{te} estrangera quiera entrar por alli Si .V.s. no fuere en persona la jornada paresçeme q̃ se deue cometer a don p^o de acuña /o al capitan sotelo porque el maestre de campo paresçeme que no conuiene apartalle de su lado el Vergantin nuevo que Va con los nauios

and render it to you and to me when opportunity is afforded, for it is very certain that much money has been and is being spent, and it is desirable to have a good account of everything kept both here and there.

The suit of Doña Francisca de la Cueva⁵⁵ and her associates has not been decided. I believe that the decision will be rendered within eight or ten days; I understand that her affairs are going nicely, and with this I believe I have answered your letter, and it will now be well to tell you the news. The fleet which was expected from Spain arrived safely, though the ships were not all together. Two of them entered port on Palm Sunday, my son Luis coming in one of them. In him you will have one more servant, and if it be necessary for him to go to that land to serve you and keep you company he will do so. He left his mother and brothers well. The king our lord had come to Spain, and was staying at Toledo awaiting the queen, to be married.⁵⁶ The rest of the news, which can be told in detail, Luis Daza takes in a memoir.

The letter which goes with this one is a copy of another that his Majesty wrote me. In it he commands me, as you will understand therefrom, to send you with all despatch the one which he writes to you. It goes herewith; in it he orders that a settlement be made with all haste at the Punta de Santa Elena.⁵⁷ For it is suspected, notwithstanding there is peace with France, that either the French or the Scotch⁵⁸ may enter there to take possession in the lands of his Majesty and occupy them. I am replying to his Majesty that I am sending his letter by these ships and telling him what is being done in the matter, and that it is somewhat difficult to make a settlement at the Punta de Santa Elena as promptly as he commands, both because it is not fitting to depopulate or abandon what has already been settled, and because the people cannot go overland without having a number of horses. But when you have them, and can leave in safety that which remains behind, you will go or send to see what there is in the matter of settling at Santa Elena. If you see that it can be done without much hazard it seems to me that his Majesty's command ought to be complied with, for he is so [51 v] insistent about it that he must have indications that foreigners desire to enter there. If you do not make the journey in person, it seems to me it should be intrusted to Don Pedro de Acuña or Captain Sotelo, for I think it is not fitting to remove the *maestre de campo* from your side. Although I could wish that the new brigantine which goes with

aunque quisiera que luego como llegara boluiera a darme auiso de la salud de .V.s. y de lo suçedido despues que no me escriuio me paresçe que sera mas neçes^o para yr a descubrir la costa hasta la punta de santa elena y boluer con la Razon de lo que hallare y si .V.s. acordare de ymbiar luego por trr^a paresçeme que seria açertado que fuese este Vergantin y otra barca si la ay a llevar alg^a artilleria poluora y munición y herrami^{as} proueello A .V.s. conforme a la posibilidad y disposiçion conque se hallare y a su mag^d dara auiso del resçiuo de su carta y le hara relacion particular del estado en que tiene las cossas de esa trr^a y el Vn despacho podra ymbiar a la hauana en Vno de los nauios que alla an de yr y otro me podra ymbiar aqui para que Vaya en mi pliego de aqui partieron X. naos para españa a los 7 de abril que fue Vn dia despues que llego al puerto don luis mi hijo de manera que quasi salieron las Vnas quando entraron las otras fue por general de la flota /ortuño de ybarra ymbiella a españa por los muchos neg^{os} que se ofresçen de que importa que sea su mag^d auisado por P^{as} que tambien lo sabra hazer lo prinçipal que lleua a cargo es lo q̃ toca a la paçificacion y poblaçion de esa trr^a y lo que conuiene que se mag^d prouea para que aya buen efecto y Juntamente con esto Va encargado de tratar los neg^{os} que a V.s. tocan de que no tengo menos cuidado que de los propios al Señor mariscal escriuio conforme a lo q̃ a V.s. le paresçe y tambien le escriue el maestro fray antonio ysidro bien es templar con el en q^{to} se pueda porque aunque no pueda quitar nada del mayoradgo en lo que a acresçentado podria hazer daño la persona con quien trata de casar A don carlos no se la edad ny p̃rsona que tiene don carlos no tiene edad para casarse en estos ocho años sino es haziendole mucho daño porque aunque de su edad tiene buena disposi[ci]on y esta mas sano y resçio y a cresçido despues q̃ V.s. le dexo es muy temprano para tratar de casalle del se tiene el cuidado que de don luis mi [52 a] hijo que es çierto que no le amo menos y don luis tendra cuidado de hazelle bu^a comp^a./

V^o El p^e. fray greg^o de beteta llego quatro o cinco dias A a esta çuidad y trae tanta priesa de yr a esa trr^a a ayudar a .V.s. y a los religiosos que alla estan que a determinado de yr en estos nauios

the ships might return as soon as it arrives to give me an account of your health and of what has been going on, it seems to me since I wrote that it will be more useful for it to go to explore the coast as far as Santa Elena and return with a report of what may be found. If you decide to send at once by land, I think it would be proper that this brigantine, and a bark, if there be one, should go to carry some artillery, powder, munitions, and weapons. You will make provision for all this according to your ability and the condition of your affairs, and you will inform his Majesty of your receipt of his letter and make him a detailed report of the state of things in that land. You may send one despatch to La Havana in one of the ships which is to go there, and send me the other one here so that it may go in my parcel of letters from here. Ten vessels set sail for Spain on April 7, which was one day after my son Luis reached port, so that they left almost at the same time the others were entering. Hortuño de Ibarra went as general of the fleet. I sent him to Spain on account of the many matters of business of which it is important that his Majesty be advised by persons who also will know how to attend to them. The principal matter with which he is charged is concerning the pacification and settlement of that land, and what it is necessary that his Majesty order so that the enterprise may have good success. Together with this he is charged to treat of the affairs which concern you, about which I have no less concern than about my own. I am writing to the *mariscal* in conformity with what you desire.⁵⁹ The teacher, Fray Antonio Isidro, is also writing to him. It is well to be moderate with him as far as possible, for, although he cannot take away anything from the *mayorazgo* in so far as it has increased, the person to whom he is trying to marry Don Carlos may do some harm. I do not know the age of the person [whose marriage to Don Carlos is being discussed]. Don Carlos is not old enough to marry at only eight years of age without doing him great injury; for, although he has a good constitution for his age and is more sound and strong, and has grown since you left him, it is too early to attempt to have him married. As much care is taken of him as of my son Don [52 r] Luis, for it is true that I do not love him less, and Don Luis will take care to make a good companion for him.

Father Fray Gregorio de Beteta reached this city four or five days ago. He is in such great haste to go to that land and help you and the religious who are there that he has decided to go on

E comunicado con su reuerençia todos los neg^{os}. de ymportançia .V.s. le de credito tengo por çierto que se a de holgar mucho de su bu^a comp^a que ha de hazer gran efecto en lo que toca a la conuersion de los naturales y que los spañoles tendran bu^a comp^a con su persona en lo spiritual y temporal y sobre lo que toca a la administracion de los sacram^{os} entre los spañoles Va aduertido de lo que he tratado con el padre prouinçial que communicara alla con .V.s. y con el padre Vicario a quien Scriuo sobre esto el p^e Varandalla me a sCripto no se quantas cartas tan largas que ni se pueden leer ni entender respondere breuamente Si no se conformare con los religiosos .V.S. me auise porque se ymbiara otro clerigo y mas si conuiniere porque si esta desasosegado y no se conforma con los religiosos tendria por mas açertado que se Viniese /.

V^r A naua y a zayas el alguazil mayor resçiuire md que tenga .V.s. por muy encomendados y aluaro nieta y a porras al çayas y a su hijo se les lleuan dos caualllos deseo que lleguen Viuos porque creo seruiran bien /

V^r el capitan biedma saca de esta çiuðad veinte y dos /o Veinte y tres soldados y lleua comi^{on} de hazer hasta çinquenta en la çiuðad de los angeles y en la Veracruz y recado para Socorrerlos es onrrado hijodalgo y muy buen soldado y bien mandado como V.s. Vera e le ofresçido que la comp^a no le sera remouida haziendo el deuer e pues yo e empeñado mi palabra en esto .V.s. la cumpla ./ pareçeme ã con la presteça posyble debe .V.S. cunplyr lo de la poblasyon de santa elena como su m^t lo manda y descuydar por aora den [sic] [52 b] denbyar jente la buelta del Ryo del espyrytu santo pues no ay para todo y para anymar a que desta tña baya jente y benga despaña sera byen enbyar algunas muestras de metales y perlas y otras cosas que en esa tña ay ã sean de probecho/. y para que yo tenga abyso de lo suçedydo y de lo que .V.s. pyensa haçer conuernya syno buelbe el vergantyn ã benga alguna barca hasta panuco a traer el despacho y se buelba de ally con sal y abes y lo ã ally vbyere / don carlo[s] y la señora dona juana quedan buenos y don car[53 a]los a cresçydo y esta sano y Recyo

these ships. I have communicated to his Reverence all matters of importance, and you may give him full credence. I am sure that you will be very much entertained by his good companionship, which must have a great effect as far as the conversion of the natives is concerned, and that the Spaniards will also have pleasant companionship with him in things spiritual and temporal. As to the administration of the sacraments among the Spaniards, he has been advised of my arrangements with the father provincial, and will communicate with you and with the father vicar, to whom I am writing concerning this. Father Barandalla has written I know not how many very lengthy letters to me which can neither be read nor understood. I will write to him briefly. If he does not get along well with the religious you will notify me, and I will send another clergyman, or more if necessary, for if he is restless and does not get on with the religious, it would be wiser for him to return.

I shall be very grateful if you will take especial care of Nava, Zayas the head bailiff, Álvaro Nieto, and Porras. Two horses are being sent to Zayas and his son. I hope they will reach you alive, for I think they will be very useful.

Captain Biedma is taking from this city twenty-two or twenty-three soldiers and bears a commission to enlist up to fifty in the City of Los Angeles and in La Vera Cruz, with [authority to collect] provisions for their maintenance. He is an honest hidalgo, a very good soldier, and well-controlled, as you will see. I have promised him that his company will not be taken from him as long as he does his duty; and since I have pledged my word in this, you will comply with it.⁶⁰ It seems to me that you ought to obey the order to establish a settlement at Santa Elena with all possible promptness, as his Majesty commands, and omit for the present [52 v] sending men on the journey to the Río del Espíritu Santo, for there are not enough of them for everything. In order to encourage people to go from this country and from Spain it would be well to send some specimens of metals, pearls, and other things to be found in that land which may be of utility. In order that I may be informed as to what has happened and what you are thinking of doing, it would be well, if the brigantine does not come, that some bark should come as far as Pánuco to bring your despatch and return from there with salt and fowls and whatever else may be there. Don Carlos and Doña Juana continue well, and Don Car[53 r]los has grown; he is strong and robust and a

y buē jynete y es el maeso de don luys posan juntos y haçense buena compaña /. sy mas se ofreçyere que escrybyr haçerlo e antes q̃ los nabyos partan guarde nro señor la ylustre persona de .V.S. de mejyco y de mayo seys año de IUDLX/

Servydor de .V.S.

Don LUYs DE V^{co}.

[*Rubricado*]

[53 b, 54 a, 54 b y 55 a en blanco]

[55 b]

†

[*Direccion:*] Al Yll^e. señor Don tristan de luna y arellano gouernador [*roto:* en las pro?]ui^{as} de la florida/ [*roto:* por su] m^t./.

El birrey [*Hay un sello estampado sobre cera.*]

[*Endosado:*] Respondidos.

[*Endosado:*] vj de mayo lx

[*Nota del copista:* Los folios 56 a a 64 b ambos inclusive ocúpales el duplicado de la carta que antecede, que no se copia.]

[65 a] [VELASCO A LUNA, MÉXICO, 7 DE MAYO DE 1560]

†

ylustre Se^{or}

V El Reberendo padre fray gregoryo de beteta questa dara a V.S. byno despaña en las vltymas naos que an benydo con yntento de yr luego a esa tñra a serbyr a nro Señor y ayudar a .V.S. y no a querydo Reposar syno yr en estos nabyos y asy ba .V.S. le ame y onRe como a syerbo de nro Se^{or} y de quien terna buen cõsejo y enjenplo y dotryna e comunycado cõ su Reberencya [65 b]/ algunas cosas de ynportançya espeçyalmente sobre la yda al descubrymy^o y poblaçyon de la punta de santa elena ba ynclynado a yr a ello cõ la jente que fuere paresçeme q̃ sera acertado por las cavsas q̃ su R^{az} dyra .V.S. le de credyto y tenga por byen que baya la jornada/ porq̃ demas de ser muy conbynyente para ella podrya ser que estando juntos no se llebasen byen el y el padre bycaryo/ y porquen otras escrybo largo a .V.S. soy brebe en esta [66 a] entenydo que ha de hacer la Jornada de la punta de Santa elena me paresçyo añedyr en la munyçyon y heRamyentas y asy e probeido que se den a luys daça en la beracruz de lo q̃ se a traydo despaña doçyentos arcabuçes con sus frascos y

good horseman; and is the instructor of Don Luis. They have their room together, and make each other good company. If there is anything else to write, I shall do it before the ships sail. May our Lord guard your illustrious person. Mexico, May 6, 1560.

Your servant,

DON LUIS DE VELASCO.

[*Rubric*]

[53 v, 54 r, 54 v, and 55 r blank]

[55 v]

†

[*Addressed:*] To the illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor [*torn:* of the pro?]vinces of La Florida [*torn:* for his] Majesty.

The Viceroy. [*There is a seal stamped upon wax.*]

[*Indorsed:*] Answered.

[*Indorsed:*] May 6, 1560.

[*Note by the transcriber:* Folios 56 r to 64 v inclusive contain a duplicate of the foregoing letter, and are not copied.]

[65 r] [VELASCO TO LUNA, MEXICO, MAY 7, 1560]

†

Illustrious Sir:

The reverend father, Fray Gregorio de Beteta, who will hand you this, came from Spain on the latest ships which have come, with the intention of going at once to that land to serve our Lord and aid you. He did not want to rest, but to go in these ships, and so he is going. Love and honor him as a servant of our Lord, from whom you may have good counsel, example, and doctrine. I have communicated to his Reverence [65 v] some things of importance, especially concerning the journey for the discovery and settlement of the Punta de Santa Elena. He is inclined to go on it with the people who may go. It seemed to me that this would be wise, for reasons which his Reverence will tell you. Give him credence, and consider it wise for him to take the journey, for, aside from the fact that he will be very well suited for it, it may be that if they are together he and the father vicar will not get on well. Inasmuch as I am writing at length to you in other letters I will be brief in this one. [66 r] On the understanding that the voyage to the Punta de Santa Elena is to be made, I thought wise to add to the munitions and tools, and so I have ordered given to Luis Daza in La Vera Cruz from what came from Spain two

frasquyllos y muRyones de hyeRo y ochoçyentas açadas y treçyentas hachas syn las que lleba hechyças luys Daça .V.S. las mãde Rescybyr y Repartyr las que sean neçesaryas y guardar lo que de presente no fuere menester para su tpo tan[bien] [66 b] se lleba vna fragua del Reçybo de todo me dara abyso .V. Señorya cuya ylustre persona guarde y acrecyente nño Señor de mejyco y de mayo syete año de IUDLX /.

Servydor de .V.S.

Don LUYs DE V^{co}.

[*Rubricado*]

[67 a en blanco]

[67 b]

†

[*Dirección:*] Al Ill^e. señor don tristan de luna y arellano gouernador en las prouias [*roto:* de la] florida Por su mag^d/.

[*Endosado:*] para el p^e. frai greg^o de beteta./

Virrey [*Hay un sello estampado sobre cera.*]

[*Endosado:*] vij de mayo de lx

[68 a] [VELASCO A LUNA, MÉXICO, 11 DE MAYO DE 1560]

†

ylustre Se^{or}

/esta solo serbyra para deçyr a .V. Señorya q̃ por mal queste en la floryda esta harto mejor quen mejyco ese notado por la deuda del fator y entre bachylleres y tanbyen para q̃ sepa .V. Señorya que su amygo pero perez apor^to a mejyco por la bya de la habana y de ally a canpeche y aquy cõ sus Ropas leonadas y amaryllas no trujo cã de .V.S. ny lyçençya dyjo q̃ aby^a benydo con ella a la habana y que se bolberya con luys Daça [68 b] /y dos dyas antes que se partyese acor^do de meterse frayle en sãt agustyn dejando burladas la desposada v desposadas los hyjos de la laguna an sentydo mucho su debuçyon en tal coyuntura / luys Daça lleba en vn plyego peq̃ño la cã de su m^t con otra mya y vna de fray andres de Vrdaneta no se sy dygo en alguna de las que escrybo como enbyo docyentos arcabuces cõ sus frascos y frasquyllos y celadas de hyeRo y ochoçyentas haçadas y treçyentas hachas de mas de las que lleba hechyças luys Daça tanbyen [69 a]

hundred arquebuses with their powder-horns and flasks and iron helmets, eight hundred spades and three hundred axes, besides those made here which Luis Daza is taking. You will have them received and distributed as they may be necessary, and store those which for the present are not needed, as they will be in time. [66 v] A forge also is being taken. Your Lordship will notify me of your receipt of everything. May our Lord guard and give increase to your illustrious person. Mexico, May 7, 1560.

Your servant,

Don LUIS DE VELASCO.

[*Rubric*]

[67 r blank]

[67 v]

†

[*Addressed:*] To the illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor in the provinces [*torn:* of La] Florida for his Majesty.

[*Indorsed:*] For Father Fray Gregorio de Beteta.

Viceroy. [*There is a seal stamped on wax.*]

[*Indorsed:*] May 7, 1560.

[68 r] [VELASCO TO LUNA, MEXICO, MAY 11, 1560]

†

Illustrious Sir:

This will serve merely to say to your Lordship that though badly off you may be in La Florida, you are much better there than in Mexico with your debt to the factor and among lawyers; and also that your Lordship may know that your friend Pedro Pérez reached Mexico by way of La Havana and from there to Campeche, arriving here with his clothing tawny and yellow. He brought no letter nor license from you, but said that he had had one to go to La Havana, and that he would return with Luis Daza. [68 v] Two days before he was to set out he decided to become an Augustine friar, leaving his betrothed in the lurch. The sons of La Laguna deeply resented his taking the vows at such a critical time.⁶¹ Luis Daza carries his Majesty's letter in a small packet with another from me and one from Fray Andrés de Urdaneta. I do not know whether I told you in any of those I wrote that I am sending two hundred arquebuses with their powder-horns and flasks and iron helmets, eight hundred spades, and three hundred axes, besides those made [here] which Luis Daza is taking. A

se lleba vna fragua plega dyos que todo lo que ba llegue en salbamêto y que hallen cõ prosperydad y salud a V.S. y a su ejercyto y que guarde como deseo su ylustre persona / don carlos y la señora dona Juana estan muy buenos y don carlos a creçydo y esta sano y Recyo y entyende en su estudyoy en los demas ejerçyços q̃ debe saver vn buen caballero sy dyos le guarda sera de los mas balerosos de su lynaje don luys mi hyjo y el posan juntos lo q̃ se [69 b] puede escrybyr de mejyco Remyto a otros avtores hecha a XI de mayo año de IUDLX/

servydor de .V. Señoria

Don LUYs DE VE^{co}.

[*Rubricado*]

[70 a en blanco]

[70 b]

†

[*Dirección:*] Al Ill^e. señor don tristan de luna y arellano gouernador [roto: por su M] ag^d en las proui^{as} de la [roto: florida]/.

[*Hay un sello estampado sobre cera.*]

[*Endosado:*] Virrey 22 de Jullio de 1560

[*Endosado:*] xj de mayo de lx

[71 a] LOS SOLDADOS CASADOS PIDEN LOS EMBIEN A LA NUEVA
ESPAÑA

†

muy yll^e. Señor

En xj de jui^o judlx
años yo el dho Esn^o
ley esta dha
petición

/ todos los soldados casados deste rreal paresçemos ante Vña señoria y dezimos q̃ atento a la intencion y çedula de su magestad q̃ es traer a estos naturales al Dominio de su magt̃ y conocimi^o de la santa madre iglesia y dezimos q̃ para el Cumplimi^o desto no avemos visto de vn año a esta parte q̃ A q̃ estamos en esta trãa dispusiçion en los naturales ni en la parencia de la tãra/para q̃ esto venga en efeto por q̃ si por via de paz q̃ todos los de por esta tãra no la quieren sino estan alçados y tienen esCondidos los bastimentos Como a .V. S^a le Consta y por guera la tãra es tan montuosa y tan llena desteros i cienagas q̃ no basta poder humano a sojuzgar estos naturales ni traerlos al dominio q̃ su mg^{t̃}. pretende y atento a estas Cosas vemos claramente su magt̃ no tener

forge is also [69 r] being taken. God grant that all that goes may arrive safely, and find you and your army prosperous and well; and may He guard your illustrious person as I desire.

Don Carlos and Doña Juana are well; Don Carlos has grown and is healthy and robust. He attends to his studies and the other exercises which he ought to know. He is a good horseman, and if God preserves him he will be one of the most valorous of his lineage. Don Luis my son and he have their room together. Whatever might be [69 v] written about Mexico I leave to other authors. Done on May 11, in the year 1560.

The servant of your lordship,

DON LUIS DE VELASCO.

[*Rubric*]

[70 r blank]

[70 v]

†

[*Addressed:*] To the illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor [*torn:* for his M]ajesty in the provinces of La [*torn:* Florida].

[*There is a seal stamped on wax.*]

[*Indorsed:*] Viceroy. July 22, 1560.

[*Indorsed:*] May 11, 1560.

[71 r] THE MARRIED SOLDIERS ASK THAT THEY BE SENT TO
NEW SPAIN

†

Very Illustrious Sir:

All the married soldiers of this camp appear before your Lordship and say: with reference to the purpose and the cedula of his Majesty, which is to bring these natives into his dominion and the knowledge of the holy mother Church, and as to the fulfilment thereof, that we have not seen, during the past year in which we have been in this country, any disposition on the part of the natives or condition in the country whereby such a desire may be brought into effect. If it is to be by peaceful methods, all those of this land refuse to have it, for they have revolted and have the supplies hidden, as is known to your Lordship. If it is to be by war, the land is so densely wooded and so full of inlets and swamps that no human power will suffice to subjugate these natives or bring them under the dominion which his Majesty desires. In view of these facts we see clearly that his Majesty can

On June 11, 1560, I.
the notary, read
this petition.

provecho ni efetuarse su muy santa intincion y nosotros no ser aprovechados ni poder poblar ni bibir en esta tñra y demas desto vemos muy claramente padecer a nñas personas hijos y mugeres y a nñas haziendas por la grande hambre q̃ al presente tenemos y vemos q̃ nosotros ni Vñra S^a no lo podemos rremediar y avnq̃ se pone toda la diligencia del mundo en ello y por dar rem^o a estas mugeres i niños vemos estar el Campo muy oCupado y trabajado lo qual no seria asina si todos los soldados fuesen solteros por tanto pidimos y rreq̃rimos a .v.s^a vna vez y dos i tres y tantas quantas de derecho podemos q̃ para q̃ no veamos peresçer y morir a nñas mugeres i hijos y antes q̃ en mayor nesçesidad nos veamos q̃ v.s^a nos embie a la nueva españa con el rrecabdo q̃ mejor Con venga y de todo lo q̃ aq̃ pedimos y alegamos dezimos q̃ daremos muy bastante informacion para q̃ por ella le Conste al s. visorrei don luys de velasco y a la rreal abdiencia y q̃ demas desto dezimos q̃ todas las vezes q̃ su magt̃ o el s. visorrei en su nombre nos mandare ir a poblar a donde fuere tñra tal fertil y provechosa q̃ estaremos prestos Con nñas personas i casas para lo hazer y a Vñra señoria yll^{ma} pedimos Justicia /

JU^o ALTAMIRANO.

FRAN^{co} MÍN.

LUYS DA . . . [*inlegible*].

[71 b] JERONIMO R^{es}.

ANTONIO AZNAR DE COÇAR.

D GARCIMARTIN GUERON.

D P^o JUAN MONTERO.

JUAN DE PINEDA.

ANTONIO ORTIZ DE AGUIRE.

JU^o RODRIGUEZ.

JU^o GRIEGO.

JU^o BAUTISTA.

LUYS DE CONTRERAS.

FERNANDO DE TORRES.

GASPAR DE BARACALDO.

XPOVAL SUAREZ.

MÍN DE BILDOSOZA.

JUAN DE VALER.

P^o LORENÇO.

BALTASAR GRANDE.

ESTEVAN DE LIMOSAN.

DI^o GIL.

ANDRES DE LA ROSA.

AL^o GRA.

P^o VELAZQ̃Z.

DI^o PEREZ.

ANT^o R^{es}.

P^o DE [LU]NA [*su señal*].

FRAN^o MALDONADO.

JERONIMO DE GOBANTES.

JU^o SANCHEZ.

P^o XIMENEZ.

JŨA DE CLARAMŔTE.

MYGEL HERNANDEZ.

BARTOLOME DE MOREGON.

MŨN GARÇIA.

[*Rubricados*]

have no profit, nor effect his very holy intention; neither can we be benefited nor settle nor live in this land. More than this, we see very clearly that we ourselves, our children and wives and our estates, are suffering from the great hunger which we are at present enduring and we see that neither we nor your Lordship can remedy this situation, even though it be attempted with all the diligence in the world. And in order to provide relief for these wives and children we see the camp very much over-wrought and exhausted, which would not be the case if all the soldiers were single men. Wherefore, we pray and require of your Lordship, once, twice, and thrice, and as many times as we can in legal form ask it, that, in order that we may not see ourselves perish and our wives and children die, and before we see ourselves in greater necessity, your Lordship will send us to New Spain under whatever precaution may be proper. And of all that we here ask and allege we say that we will give very ample information whereby it may be made evident to the viceroy, Don Luis de Velasco, and to the royal audiencia. And more than this, we say that whenever his Majesty or the viceroy in his name commands us to go and settle where the land may be suitably fertile and profitable, we will be ready with our persons and households to do it. And of your most illustrious lordship we ask justice.

JUAN ALTAMARÍNO.

FRANCISCO MARTÍN.

LUIS DA . . . [*illegible*].

[71 v] JERONIMO RODRÍGUEZ.

ANTONIO AZNAR DE COZAR.

D. GARCIMARTÍN GUERÓN.

D. PEDRO JUAN MONTERO.

JUAN DE PINEDA.

ANTONIO ORTÍZ DE AGUIRRE.

JUAN RODRÍGUEZ.

JUAN GRIEGO.

JUAN BAUTISTA.

LUIS DE CONTRERAS.

FERNANDO DE TORRES.

GASPAR DE BARACALDO.

CRISTÓBAL SUÁREZ.

MARTÍN DE BILDOSOLA.

JUAN DE VALEB.

PEDRO LORENZO.

BALTASAR GRANDE.

ESTEVAN DE LIMOSÁN.

DIEGO GIL.

ANDRÉS DE LA ROSA.

ALONSO GUERRA.

PEDRO VELÁZQUEZ.

DIEGO PÉREZ.

ANTONIO R[ODRÍGU]EZ.

PEDRO DE [LU]NA [*his mark*].

FRANCISCO MALDONADO.

JERÓNIMO DE GOBANTES.

JUAN SÁNCHEZ.

PEDRO XIMÉNEZ.

JUAN DE CLARAMONTE.

MIGUEL HERNÁNDEZ.

BARTOLOMÉ DE MOREGÓN.

MARTÍN GARCÍA.

[*Rubrics*]

[72 a]

†

MANDA q̃ TENGAN SILENCIO SO PENA DE TRAYDORES q̃ SE
PROUEERA LO DE LOS BASTIMENTOS

V E bista esta petiçion por el muy yll^e S^{or} don tristan de luna y arellano gobernador y capitan general en estas probinçias por su m^t abiendola Comunicado Con el muy mag^{co} S^{or} gorge çeron Saabedra m^e de campo Just^a mior destas probinçias y con los SS. oficiales de su m^t. y capitanes en Cumplimi^o de lo que piden los contenidos en la dha petiçion dixo que probeia y probeio que pues les hera notorio la diligençia que se ponía en busCar bastimento para El probeimiento deste campo y que agora de presente estaba probeido que se fuesen a buscar El rrio arriba para lo qual estaban probeidos Capitanes y Jente y que demas desto que Cada dia sesperaba la armada de la nueba españa y que a caso que agora se determinase El proibimiento de lo que piden sin esperar El neçesario rremedio que no abia conbeniente Aparejo que atento esto en nonbre de su m^t les mandaba tubiesen silençio so pena q̃l que no lo tubiere sera tenido por traidor y castigado por ello y haziendo lo que deben que su señoria probeeria rremedio con breuedad por la bia y orden que mas a su saluo y al bien comun conbiniere y asi lo probeyo y que si dentro de cinq^{ta} dias no hubiere bastante Remedio que se escribira al yll^{mo} S^{or} bisoRey de la nueba españa dando Razon de lo que piden y que juntamente Ellos Escriban para que se enbiare su Carta con la de su ser^a y esto mando que se les de un trespado de manera que aga fee y firmolo.

DON TRISTAN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

[Rubricado]

[72 b] [Endosado:] petiçion de los casados

[72 r]

†

HE ORDERS THEM TO BE SILENT, UNDER PENALTY OF BEING AD-
JUDGED TRAITORS, AND THE MATTER OF THE PROVISIONS
WILL BE ATTENDED TO

This petition having been seen by the very illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor and captain-general in these provinces for his Majesty, and he having discussed it with the very magnificent Jorge Cerón Saavedra, maestre de campo and chief justice of these provinces, and with the officials of his Majesty and the captains; in reply to what those who signed it ask for in the said petition, he said: that he was providing and had provided [maintenance], and the diligence which he had exercised in seeking rations for the provisioning of this camp was thoroughly known to them; and that at the moment it had been ordered that [an expedition] should go up the river in search of [more], for which purpose captains and men had been designated. Moreover, the fleet from New Spain was expected any day, and even in case the order which they asked for should now be issued without awaiting the necessary remedy, there was no suitable equipment [wherewith to carry it out]. In view of this fact, he commanded them in the name of his Majesty to keep silence under the penalty that he who did not so do would be considered a traitor and punished accordingly. But if they did as they ought, his Lordship would provide relief shortly in the manner and fashion most conducive to their welfare and the common good. And so he ordered it; and if within fifty days there should not be sufficient relief, he would write to the illustrious viceroy of New Spain informing him of what they asked; and [he promised] that they might also write at the same time in order that their letter might be sent with that of his Lordship. And he ordered that they be given a copy hereof in testimony of the facts, and he signed it.

DON TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

[*Rubric*]

[72 v] [*Indorsed:*] Petition of the married soldiers.

[73 a]

†

TORNAN A INSISTIR LOS CASADOS EN LO DE LA PETIÇION PASADA Y
 DIZEN q̃ NO TIENEN A QUIEN SE QUEXAR Y PIDEN NO
 EMBIE EL VERGANTIN A LA HAUANA

Yll^e. Señor

En XVII de Jui^o
 IUDLX años se
 presento esta peti-
 cion

Los casados q̃ estamos en serui^o del Rey n^{ro} Señor En este pueblo de ypacana En Vniversidad parecemos Ante .V.S. y dezimos q̃ por vna n^{ra} petiçion pedimos y suplicamos a .V.S. El Remedio q̃ Conviene al seruicio de dios y de su Real al^a de manera q̃ no perezcan n^{ras} mugeres E hijos E nosotros de hambre sin ningun Remedio segun mas largamente En la d^{ha} petiçion se contiene./ y a la d^{ha} n^{ra} petiçion .V.S. Respondio q̃ so pena de traydor touiesemos silençio E demas desto seria castigado como mas largamente En la d^{ha} Respuesta nos Refrimos. y si a .V.S. como persona q̃s En nombre del Rey don felipe n^{ro} señor no pedimos el Remedio q̃ convenga A quien sera justo que se pida. / y hablando con el deuido acatamiento dezimos q̃ no deue .V.S. mandar El tal mando por muchas causas y Razones / lo vno porq̃ nosotros pedimos El Remedio de uida para n^{ras} mugeres E hijos e nosotros pues estamos tan cercanos de perdella, no por eso es justo q̃ se nos ponga la pena de trayçion y ser castigados./ lo otro por lo q̃ lo pedimos es Ver q̃ de ninguna parte no tenemos Remedio de ningun bastimento por el Rio abaxo ni por el Rio arriba ni menos por la t^{rra} adentro q̃ no lo tengan los yndios todo alçado E quemado como es notorio a todos los capitanes E gentes q̃ al Efeto an ydo./ lo otro Ver q̃ la flota de la nueva españa no viene ni a venido y puesto caso q̃ agora viniese no tenemos el Remedio tan cerca q̃ no se pasen mas de çinquenta dias primero q̃ a este rreal venga ningun bastimento En termi^o de los quales puede el Exercito morir como a .V.S. consta./ lo otro si hasta aqui nos Emos sustentado con la Racion /ordinario q̃ se nos da Era porq̃ auia entreuerado algun mayz /o Vellota lo qual ninguna cosa desto ay / y mas con alguna yerua que auia y agora no se halla ni la ay de mas de tres leguas a la rredonda deste rreal siendo como es tan poca cantidad ser media libra de carne para dos /y tres dias como se da porq̃ en ninguna manera se pueden los

[73 r]

†

THE MARRIED SOLDIERS AGAIN INSIST ON THE TERMS OF THEIR
FORMER PETITION, AND SAY THAT THEY HAVE NO ONE TO
WHOM TO MAKE COMPLAINT; AND THEY ASK THAT THE
BRIGANTINE SHALL NOT BE SENT TO LA HAVANA

Illustrious Sir:

We married soldiers who are in the service of the king our lord in this town of Nanipacana appear before you in a body and say: that in a petition of ours we asked and supplicated you for the relief befitting the service of God and of his royal Highness, that our wives and children and we ourselves should not perish from hunger without relief, as is set forth at greater length in the petition. To the said petition you replied that we should keep silence under penalty of [being declared] traitors, and in addition to this of being punished as is more fully [set forth] in the reply, to which we refer. But if we do not address our petition for proper relief to you, as the person who represents the king our lord, Don Felipe, to whom would it be proper to address it? Speaking with due respect we say that you ought not to give such an order, for many causes and reasons: first, because we asked for this relief for [the sake of] the lives of our wives, our children, and ourselves, for we are so near to losing them that it is not just that we should be charged with treason for it and punished; another reason why we ask it is because we see that we have no prospect of food from any quarter, either from up the river or from down it, or much less from the interior, for the Indians have the whole [country] in revolt and burned over, as is notorious among all the captains and men who have gone out for the purpose [of finding food]; another reason is that we see that the fleet from New Spain does not come, has not come, and even in case it should come now we would not have relief so near but that more than fifty days would pass before any food might reach this camp, and during that interval the army might die, as is evident to you; another reason is that if we have sustained ourselves until now on the ordinary ration which is given us, this was because it has been intermixed with a small amount of maize or acorns, of which there is nothing left, or even with some herbs which there used to be but which are no longer to be found within a circuit of three leagues from this camp; and a half pound of meat for two or three days, the ration given us, is a very small quantity,

On June 17, 1560,
this petition was
presented.

hombres sustentar no auiedo otro/bastimento como dño es. y no tan solamente nosotros lo padeçemos sino q̃ tambien lo padeçen nros seruicios./en gran manera ./ y asi mesmo no te[ne]mos ninguna esperança En sementeras que los yndios tengan porq̃ no las ay ni tienen. y si algunas auia las an destruydo y arrancado y no se espera a esta causa Remedio dellas ./ y asi mesmo la tñra ser ansi adentro como aqui tan çenagosa y montuosa y arcabucales e ynabitable que no ay hombre que sean humanos q̃ hazer uida En ella puedan/E demas desto/los yndios q̃ ay estan alçados ni se pueden traer ni ay Remedio al seruiº del Rey ni en conocimio de nra Sancta fee como es notorio a todos En comun./ y si con penas tan graues nos haze .V.S. q̃ çeRemos la boca. A quien nos Emos de acorrer siendo como es notorio que dello nos [73 b] Dios nro Señor seruido ni su mag^t. como catholico/

V /otro si a nra notiçia es venido como .V.S. quiere ymbiar el vergantin a la havana y al Efeto no sabemos. dezimos q̃s en perjuizio de todo el campo por muchas causas y Razones y las prinçipales son q̃ las cosas de la mar no tienen termino porq̃ para yr y venir hasta este pueblo se pasaran mas de tres meses en el qual dho termio dios sabe lo q̃ sera de todos por el extremo en q̃ estamos /lo /otro q̃ Como puede yr se puede perder y de aqui Redundar muy gran daño a causa de esperararlo. y a estas causas y rrazones alegadas conviene pa nra libertad q̃ .V.S. no permita la tal yda ny que el vergantin salga de donde el rreal estuuire pues toda la esperança del rremedio de nras vidas esta en el y en los demas nauios q̃ al presente ay /.

V Por tanto A .V.S. pedimos y rreçrimos vna y dos y tres vezes y quantas mas de drº podemos por seruiº de dios nro señor ponga el rremedio q̃s neçesario como xpianisimo q̃ es y se compadezca de tantas criaturas y mugeres y gente xpiana como aqui decemos de la manera y conforme a lo q̃ en la dña nra petiçion tenemos pedido pues es el postrer Remedio q̃ aqui ay pues al cabo se ha de uenir ha azer con diminucion de muertes de gentes y donde no protestamos todas las muertes daños calamidades y menoscabos de gentes q̃ sobre todo viniere en el dño Exerçito / y si neçesario es lo pedi-

for by no means can men maintain themselves having no other food than that described. Not only do we ourselves suffer, but so also do our servants suffer in great degree; moreover, we have no hope from whatever fields the Indians might possess, for there are none nor have they any, and if there were any they have destroyed them and pulled them up, for which reason no relief is to be expected from them. Furthermore, the territory inland is quite as swampy and overgrown with forests and brambles as it is here, and is so uninhabitable that no men who are human can possibly live in it. Besides this, the Indians who are there are in revolt, and cannot be brought by any means to the service of the king nor to the knowledge of our holy faith, as is notorious to everyone in common. And if you compel us under such dire penalties to keep our mouths shut, to whom shall we appeal, for it is notorious that thereby [73 v] God our Lord is not served, nor his Majesty as a Catholic.

Furthermore, it has come to our notice that you desire to send the brigantine to La Havana, for what purpose we know not, [but] we say that it is to the prejudice of the whole camp for many causes and reasons. The principal ones are that the affairs of the sea have no end, because the voyage from this town and back again will take more than three months, in which time God knows what will become of us all because of the extremity in which we are. Another reason is that if it goes it may be lost, from which much damage would result because of waiting for it. For these and other reasons set forth, it is expedient for our liberty that you do not permit the voyage, nor allow the brigantine to depart from where the camp is situated, for all hope of saving our lives is in it and in the other ships which are now here.

Wherefore, we beg and request you, one, two, and three times, and as many more as in legal form we may, that for the service of God our Lord you grant the remedy which is necessary, as the most Christian gentleman which you are; that you take compassion on so many infants, women, and Christian men who here repeat in the same manner and in conformity therewith what we asked in our [former] petition. This is the last recourse we have here, for finally it will come to have to be done, and with fewer losses from deaths of men. If you do not do so we protest all the deaths, injuries, calamities, and losses of men which may after all come upon the army. And if it be necessary we ask those present

mos por fee E testimonio y a los presentes Rogamos q̃ dello nos sean testigos y sobre todo pedimos cumplim^o de Just^a

ANDRES DE LA ROSA.

FRAN^{co} VAZQZ.

JU^o DE PINEDA.

XPOBAL XUAREZ.

ANT^o R^{es}.

MÍN DE BILDOSOLA.

JU^o BATISTA.

ANDRES RUIS.

JU^o DE CLARAMÖT^E.

JU^o BAT^ESTA.

LUIS DE CONTRERAS.

GR^{mo} GOBANTES.

FRAN^{co} MALDONADO.

ESTEVAN DE LIMOSIN.

JERONIMO RODRIGUEZ.

P^o DE LUNA [*su señal*].

LUYS HYDALGO.

BARTOLOME DE MOLLEJON.

FRAN^{co} MÍN.

ANTONIO RUIZ DE AGUIRE.

JUAN DE VALER.

[*Rubricados*]

[74 a]

†

y asi presentada esta dha peticion antel muy yll^e. Ser. don tristan de luna y arellano gobernador y capitan general destas probinçias de la florida dixo que lo oya y quel Haria Ju^{cia} t^{os} Julian de aCuna y El capitan porras y el capitan matienço.

paso ante mi

MÍN DE AGUIRRE

Srn^o mayor.

[*Rubricado*]

[74 b] [*Endosado:*] peticion de los casados

[75 a] LOS INDIOS MEXICANOS PIDEN VN NAUIO PÃ VOLUERSE

†

muy Yll^e. Señor

En xxiiij de Jui^o
1560 años

todos los yndios prinçipales y naturales de la cibdad de mexico y del tatebula pareçemos Ante .V.S. y dezimos que atento a la gran neçesidad q̃ en este exerçito ay de hambre nosotros la padeçemos muy mayor y hasta aqui nos sustentauamos con vnas yeruas q̃ auia y agora no las ay ni se halla En mas de quatro leguas de aqui y ni mahiz ni Vellota nosotros no lo alcãçamos poco ni mucho y porq̃ no perezcamos mas de los q̃ se an muerto y perecido sea .V.S. seruido En n^e de su Real al^a darnos vn navio pa q̃ podamos

to be our witnesses hereto, and above all things we ask that justice be done.

ANDRÉS DE LA ROSA.

FRANCISCO VÁZQUEZ.

JUAN DE PINEDA.

CRISTÓBAL SUÁREZ.

ANTONIO R[ODRIGU]EZ.

MARTÍN DE BILDÓSOLA.

JUAN BAUTISTA.

ANDRÉS RUIZ.

JUAN DE CLARAMONTE.

JUAN BAUTISTA.

LUIS DE CONTRERAS.

GERÓNIMO GOBANTES.

FRANCISCO MALDONADO.

ESTEVAN DE LIMOSÍN.

JERÓNIMO RODRÍGUEZ.

PEDRO DE LUNA [*his mark*].

LUIS HIDALGO.

BARTOLOMÉ DE MALLEJÓN.

FRANCISCO MARTÍN.

ANTONIO RUIZ DE AGUIRRE.

JUAN DE VALER.

[*Rubrics*]

[74 r]

†

This petition having been presented to the very illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor and captain-general of these provinces of La Florida, he said that he heard it and that he would do justice. Witnesses, Julián de Acuña, Captain Porras, and Captain Matienzo.

Done before me,

MARTÍN DE AGUIRRE,

Chief notary.

[*Rubric*]

[74 v] [*Indorsed.*] Petition of the married soldiers.

[75 r] THE MEXICAN INDIANS ASK FOR A SHIP IN WHICH TO
RETURN

†

Very Illustrious Sir:

All the principal Indians, natives of the City of Mexico and of El Tatebula, appear before you and say: that on account of the great necessity which exists in this army from hunger, we are suffering very greatly. Until now we have been sustaining ourselves with a few herbs which used to be found here, but now there are no more, nor can any be found within more than four leagues around about here nor can we obtain any corn or acorns in large or small quantity. So, in order that we may not perish here in greater number than those who have died and perished, will you not, in the name of his royal Highness, be pleased to

June 23, 1560.

yr a la nueba españa pa Saluar nñas Vidas conforme a estas çedulas q̃l yll^{mo} S. Visorrey de la nueba españa nos hizo m̃ds por no auer q̃rido tomar ningun dinero de socorro como a Vña S. consta de las quales dhas çedulas hazemos presentacion/

Por tanto a .V.S. pedimos y suplicamos por serui^o de dios nño señor mande cumplir las dhas çedulas al pie de la letra como el S. Visorrey en nombre de su al^a nos hizo m̃ds. y en lo V. S. ansi mandar probeer hara como xpianisimo y seruicio a dios y a su al^a y haziendose lo contrario sera para q̃ todos perezcamos y si necesario es protestamos y lo pedimos por testimonio / y sobre todo se nos hara cumplim^o de Just^a la qual pedimos/

DON MYGUEL.

FRANCISCO VIZCAYNO.

MARTIN MOYLE [?].

FRAN^{co} GARÇIA.

ANTON DE SANTIAGO.

XPOVAL DANIEL.

FRAN^{co} SANCHEZ.

MIGUEL MENDOÇA.

PAPIA.

PEDRO YIZOMO [?].

HORTI VILOSDOS [?].

ANTO DE LA CRUZ.

P^o DE PALOXI.

TODU SEÇBA.

P^o DIYEZ.

AGOSTIN FRANCISCO.

JUÑ GARCIA.

P^o GERONIMO.

FRAN^{co} SENILIO [?].

JUÑ PELEZ.

ARTI [?].

Y asi presentada esta dha peticion antel S^{or} gobernador dixo que lo oya y quel haria Just^a t^{os} El capitan Julian de aCuña y Ju^o de paz

paso ante mi

MÍN DE AGUIRRE

esn^o maior.

[*Rubricado*]

[75 b] [*Endosado:*] petição de los indios de mx^{co}

[76 a] PIDEN LOS INDIOS OFFICIALES VN NAUIO PÃ VENIRSE

†

muy yll^e Señor

En beinte y tres de
Jui^o 1560

felipe y pedro / y martin y Josef / y pedro y los demas yndios naturales de mexico ofiçiales que al seruycio de dios y de .V.S. estamos en este pueblo de ypacaña y tierra de la florida dezimos q̃

give us a ship so that we may go to New Spain that we may preserve our lives, in conformity with the cédulas whereby the most illustrious viceroy of New Spain made to us certain grants inasmuch as we did not want to take any money in payment, as is evident to you from the said cédulas, which we present to you.

Wherefore, we ask and beseech you for the service of God our Lord to order these cédulas complied with to the letter as the viceroy in the name of his Highness made the grants to us. In so doing you will act as a most Christian gentleman, for the service of God and his Highness. If you do to the contrary it will be to the end that we all perish. If it be necessary we swear to this; and we ask for a copy hereof in legal form; and above all may justice to us be done.

DON MIGUEL.

FRANCISCO VIZCAÍNO.

MARTÍN MOYLE [?].

FRANCISCO GARCÍA.

ANTÓN DE SANTIAGO.

CRISTÓBAL DANIEL.

FRANCISCO SÁNCHEZ.

MIGUEL MENDOZA.

PAPIA.

PEDRO YIZOMO [?].

HORTI VILOSDOS [?].

PEDRO ANTÓN DE LA CRUZ.

PEDRO DE PALOXI.

TODU SEÑBA [?].

PEDRO DÍAZ.

AGUSTÍN FRANCISCO.

JUAN GARCÍA.

PEDRO GERÓNIMO.

FRANCISCO SENILIO [?].

JUAN PÉLEZ.

ARTI [?].⁶²

When this petition was presented to the governor, he said that he heard it, and that he would do justice. Witnesses, Captain Julián de Acuña and Juan de Paz.

Done before me,

MARTÍN DE AGUIRRE,

Chief notary.

[*Rubric*]

[75 v] [*Indorsed:*] Petition of the Indians of Mexico.

[76 r] THE INDIAN CRAFTSMEN ASK FOR A SHIP IN WHICH TO
GO AWAY

†

Very Illustrious Sir:

Felipe, Pedro, Martín, José, Pedro, and the rest of the Indian laborers, native of México, who are in this town of Nanipacana and the land of La Florida for the service of God and of yourself,

June 23, 1560.

a .V.S. es notorio la gran neçesidad q̃ de comida se tiene en este campo y nosotros mas q̃ todos q̃ no tenemos de donde lo aver de lo qual padeçemos ynçufrible neçesidad y tememos pereçer

V Por tanto a .V.S. suplicamos por serui^o de dios nro Señor se conpadezca de nosotros y mande darnos algun nabio donde vamos a la nueba españa a saluar nras Vidas conforme al mandami^o del yll^{mo} Señor VisoRey de la nueba españa tiene dado pa todos nosotros q̃ venimos en esta armada el q̃l dho mandami^o tiene y esta em poder del dho capitan don miguel y en lo .V. S. ansi prover y mandar hara serui^o a dios nro Señor y a nosotros bien y mds y limosna y sobre todo pedimos Just^a

PILLIPPE CHACHIZ. FRAN^{co}.

ANDRES. PEDRO.

PEDRO. JOSEPH.

MARTIN. MARTIN.

JERONIMO. JOSEPH.

[*Rubricados*]

Y asi presentada esta dha petiçion antel S^{or} gobernador dixo q̃ la oya y que les hara Just^a sobre ello t^os El capitan Julian de aCuña y Ju^o de paz

paso ante mi

MÍN DE AGUIRRE

srn^o maior.

[*Rubricado*]

[76 b y 77 a en blanco]

[77 b] [*Endosado:*] petiçion de los yndios de serui^o digo oficiales de mex^{co}

[78 a] [*Sumario oficial:*] dize q̃ a entrado en consejo con todos y atenta la hambre quiere yr donde estan los otros y espera bela pa ello

†

[DECLARACIÓN HECHA POR LUNA]

En dezinuebe dias del mes de Junio año de mill y qui^s y sesenta años estando en el sitio de santa cruz † de nypacana destas provincias de la florida de las yndias del mar oceano el mui yll^e Señor don tristan de luna y arellano gobernador y capitan general

say: that the great need of food in this camp is well known to you, but to us more than to anyone else, for we have nowhere to obtain it, wherefore we are enduring insufferable want, and we fear that we shall perish.

Therefore, we beseech you for the service of God our Lord to have pity on us, and order some ship given to us wherein we may go to New Spain to save our lives, in conformity with the command which the most illustrious viceroy gave for all of us who came in this fleet. The said command is in the possession of Captain Don Miguel; and you in ordering and providing thus will render to God our Lord a service and to us a benefaction. We ask grants, alms, and above all, justice.

FELIPE CHACHIZ.	FRANCISCO.
ANDRÉS.	PEDRO.
PEDRO.	JOSÉ.
MARTÍN.	MARTÍN.
JERÓNIMO.	JOSÉ.

[*Rubrics*]

When this petition was presented to the governor he said that he heard it, and that he would do them justice in the matter. Witnesses, Julián de Acuña and Juan de Paz.

Done in my presence,

MARTÍN DE AGUIRRE,

Chief notary.

[*Rubric*]

[76 v and 77 r blank]

[77 v] [*Indorsed:*] Petition of the Indians in service, or rather laborers, of Mexico.

[78 r] [*Official summary:*] He says that he has taken counsel with everyone, and that because of the hunger he desires to go where the others are, and expects [to take steps?] in order to do so.⁶³

†

[DECLARATION MADE BY LUNA]

On the nineteenth day of the month of June in the year one thousand five hundred and sixty, being at the site of Santa Cruz (†) de Nanipacana of these provinces of La Florida of the Indies of the Ocean-Sea, the very illustrious Don Tristán de Luna

de la paçificacion y poblacion destas dhas probinçias e punta de santa elena Ec^a por su m^t abiendo sido su señoria del dño S^{or} governador ynportunado rrequerido y amonestado muchas y dibersas bezes por muchas petiçiones asi de los honbres casados que con sus mugeres estan en estas dhas probinçias como de los soldados solteros que en ella rresiden a los quales entendiendo su señoria q̃ le pedian liçençia para salir de la tierra por la neçesidad y esterilidad que en ella abia y por la general anbre que se padeçia no les queria oyr ni amitir sus rruegos y petiçiones a cuiu causa El m^e. de campo capitanes y ofiçiales de su m^t. le pidieron y suplicaron les oiese y satisfiçiese en lo que mejor pudiese satisfazerles atento a lo qual su s^a hizo Ayuntamiento junta y consilio de los caballeros de consejo que en serui^o de su m^t. estan en estas dhas probinçias que son gorge ceron saabedra m^e de campo Just^a maior por su m^t. don mñ doz alferez general y del estandarte rreal en Cuio lugar su s^a le tenia puesto por ausencia de don carlos de çuñiga y el tesorero a^{ol} belazquez rrod^{ez} y el contador a^{ol} perez y el capitan baltasar de sotelo y el capitan don p^o de acuña y el capitan diego tellez y el capitan Ju^o de porras y el capitan ant^o ortiz de matienço y el capitan Julian de acuña y el ałld mayor a^{ol} faxardo y p^o lopez De naba // los quales estando todos juntos en el dho consilio su señoria les fablo rrepresento y sinifico la neçesidad y trabaxo que estaba El exerçito de anbre que se padeçia la esclamaçion q̃ las mugeres y niños hazian y lo que mas gente del campo pedian por sus petiçiones Cuiu neçesidad les constaba y era notorio y quel no podia dar rremedio para satisfazer a lo que pedian y rremediar tan general anbre puesto que por todas las bias por agua y por tierra con aCuerdo de los sobre dhos abia enbiado a buscar bastimento con capitanes y honbres de rrecaudo para la sustentacion del campo y no hallaba ni podian hallar por la qual rrazon la esclamaçion del exerçito hera mas continua y de cada dia [78 b] Se frequentaba mas que pues su s^a abia enbiado El sargento mayor y quatro capitanes con çiento y cinçta honbres de guerra a la paçificacion de la probinçia de coça de los quales tenia nueba estar en tierra poblada y fertil de comida segun lo que se le screbia y que ya les hera notorio que abia enbiado a satis-

y Arellano, governor and captain-general of the pacification and settlement of these said provinces and the Punta de Santa Elena, et cetera, for his Majesty, his Lordship, the said governor, having been importuned, required, and threatened many and divers times by many petitions both from the married men who are in these provinces with their wives, and by the unmarried soldiers who reside in them, he, understanding that they asked license from him to depart from the land because of the want and sterility which existed in it, and because of the general hunger which was being suffered, did not wish to hear nor admit their requests and petitions. Wherefore the master of the camp, the captains, and the officials of his Majesty, asked and supplicated him to hear them and grant them in the best manner he could. In view of this his Lordship convoked an *ayuntamiento*, *junta*, and council of his gentlemen advisers who are in the said provinces in the service of his Majesty, namely: Jorge Cerón Saavedra, maestre de campo and chief justice for his Majesty, Don Martín Doz, ensign-general and warder of the royal standard, in which position he had been placed by his Lordship because of the absence of Don Carlos de Zúñiga, the treasurer, Alonso Velázquez Rodríguez, the accountant, Alonso Pérez, Captain Baltazar de Sotelo, Captain Don Pedro de Acuña, Captain Diego Téllez, Captain Juan de Porras, Captain Antonio Ortiz de Matienzo, Captain Julián de Acuña, the alcalde mayor Alonso Fajardo, and Pedro López de Nava. All these being convened in the said council, his Lordship spoke to them. He represented and indicated the want and the difficulty in which the army was on account of the hunger from which it was suffering, the clamors which the women and children made, and above all, the requests which the other people of the camp presented in their petitions. This want was evident and notorious to them, but [he said] he could give no relief to satisfy their requests and alleviate such general hunger. For he had, in accord with the above named men, sent in all directions both by land and by water to search for food with captains and men of discretion for the sustentation of the camp; but they did not nor could they find any, for which reason the clamor of the army was almost continuous and daily grew [78 v] worse. His Lordship had sent the sargento mayor and four captains with one hundred and fifty fighting men to pacify the province of Coosa, from whom he had news that they were in a well-populated land with abundant food, according to what they wrote him. It was already well known to them, [he

fazerse mas de la tierra para dar asiento en las cosas tocantes al serui^o de dios y de su m^t y el bien de todos y que pues la neçesidad es tan estrema y tan notoria que no se podia esperar rrespuesta de la tierra dentro que su .s^a determinaba de irse do estaban los sobre dños capitanes con la gente que seguir le quisiese porque no pretendia hazer fuerça a nadie ni conpelerles A que hiziesen mas de lo que pudiesen y mando a los capitanes de a pie y a caballo que para dentro de dos dias aperçebiesen su gente para El dño efecto y que le paresçia el dño m^e. de campo con los honbres casados se quedase y les llebase a parte y pusiese en sitio y lugar donde en alguna manera se satisfiziesen en el entretanto que se probeia de rremedio y q̃ si de los casados algunos estubiesen desenbaraçados le quisiesen seguir que protestaba de les ayudar en todo lo demas y que en lo demas que pedian que se platicase y diese asiento en lo que mas conbiniese para poder rremediar sus bidas en Cuio rriesgo las tenian todos pues morian de anbre y no abia alguno que apenas se pudiese tenerse en pie y que con breuedad pensaba partirse como esta dño q̃ les pedia en presençia de mi martin de aguirre srn^o maior nonbrado por el dño S^{or} gobernador en este exerçito y campo se aclarasen y firmasen los que seguirle quisiesen

Don TRISTAN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

[Rubricado]

Por man^{do} de su S^a

MÍN DE AGUIRRE

srn^o nonbrado.

[Rubricado]

[79 a]

[RESPUESTA DE LOS OFICIALES]

dizen q̃ esto es de
mucha calidad
piden les admita
sus escriptos

dho que hubo su señoria del dño señor gobernador lo de suso contenido El dño señor m^e de campo y los demas oficiales de su m.^t y capitanes dixieron q̃l negoçio que al p^esente su señoria trataba hera calificado y de mucha ynportançia y que no conbenia determinarse sin mirarlo muy bien espeçialmente que de la breue determinacion podrian rresultar algunos daños E ynconbenientes que por no abello bien pensado suçediesen de cuia causa pedian y

said] that he had sent to acquaint himself better with the land in order to make decision in the matters touching the service of God and of his Majesty and the welfare of all. But since the necessity was so extreme and so notorious that he could not await a reply from the interior, his Lordship had decided to go to where the aforesaid captains were with the people who would follow him, for he would not presume to use force with anyone, nor compel them to do more than they were able. He therefore commanded the captains of horse and foot soldiers to prepare their people within two days for the said purpose. And [he said] that it seemed well to him that the *maestre de campo* should stay there with the married men and take them away a little distance and put them in a place where they might in some degree be sustained until he could provide relief; and if any of the married men were free and desired to follow him, he protested that he would aid them in everything else; and that as to all the rest which they asked for, it should be discussed and an agreement reached as to what would be most suitable to make it possible to save their lives, all of which were at risk, for they were dying of hunger, and there was scarcely anyone who could keep on his feet; that he expected shortly to set out as has been said; and he asked of them, in my presence, Martín de Aguirre, chief notary named by the governor in this army and camp, that those who wished to follow him would declare themselves and sign their names.

DON TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

[*Rubric*]

By command of his Lordship,

MARTÍN DE AGUIRRE,

Notary appointed.

[*Rubric*]

[79 r]

[REPLY OF THE OFFICERS]

When his Lordship, the said governor, had made the foregoing statement, the *maestre de campo*, the officials of his Majesty, and the captains said that the business of which his Lordship was now treating was complicated and of much importance, and that it was not proper to decide it without scrutinizing it very thoroughly, especially as a hasty decision might cause certain damage and inconvenience which might happen because [the proposal] had not been well thought out. For this reason they asked

They say that this matter is of great importance, and ask that they be permitted to present written statements.

suplicaban a su señoría en presençia de mi El dhõ srnº le señalasen vn breue termino en el qual cada vno truxiese por escripto y firmado de su nonbre su paresçer con las causas q̃ le mobiesen a darla segun el Juizio de cada vno de cuió pedimiº e suplicaçion yo el dho srnº doy fee y firmelo de mi noº.

Paso ante mi

MİN DE AGUIRRE

srnº nonbrado.

[*Rubricado*]

bisto por el dño señor gobernador el pedimiento del dño mº de campo y de los demas oficiales de su mº y Capitanes paresçiendole ser justo asi para q̃ lo encomendasen a Dios pues en su seruiº estaban como para traer la dña determinaçion les asino y dio termino de Vn dia en el qual les mando truxesen su paresçer y determinaçion firmado de sus nonbres.

DON TRISTAN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

[*Rubricado*]

Por manº de su Sª

MİN DE AGUIRRE

srnº nonbrado.

[*Rubricado*]

[79 *b en blanco*]

[80 *a*]

†

LA RESPUESTA DEL Mº DE CAMPO A LA DETERMINAÇION DEL
GOUERNADOR

muy Yllº Sºr

presentada en xjx
de Juniº 1560 años

Respondiendo a lo por .v.sª mandado notificar a /oficiales y capitanes y a mi juntamente con ellos como a mº de campo que fue hecha en diez y nueve de Junio de mill e quiºs y sesenta años a que me Refiero, digo que En otras juntas que .v.sª a mandado hazer de oficiales de su magº y capitanes y otras personas que tienē pareçer en estos negoçios se ha tratado la necesidad de comida y bastimento queste campo y gente a tenido y tiene de quatro meses a esta parte. E para el Remedio dio de proveer de bastimentos se

and besought his Lordship in the presence of myself, the aforesaid notary, to allow them a short time so that each one might bring his opinion in writing and signed with his name, with the reasons which moved him to give it, according to the judgment of each of them. I, the said notary, attest this petition and supplication, and I signed it with my name.

Done in my presence,

MARTÍN DE AGUIRRE,

Notary appointed.

[*Rubric*]

The petition of the said *maestre de campo*, the officials of his Majesty, and the captains having been seen by the governor, and it seeming to him to be just to do so, both in order that they might commend the matter to God, for they were in his service, and that the decision might be made, he assigned and gave them the period of one day, within which he commanded them to bring their opinions and decisions signed with their names.

DON TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

[*Rubric*]

By his Lordship's command,

MARTÍN DE AGUIRRE,

Notary appointed.

[*Rubric*]

[79 v *blank*]

[80 r]

†

THE REPLY OF THE MAESTRE DE CAMPO TO THE DECISION OF THE
GOVERNOR

Very Illustrious Sir:

Replying to your Lordship's command imparted to the officials and captains, and to me together with them as *maestre de campo*, and given on June 19, 1560, to which I refer, I say: that in other meetings which your Lordship has ordered held, composed of officials of his Majesty, captains, and other persons who have voice in these matters, the dearth of food and provisions which this camp and people suffers and have suffered for the past four months has been discussed; and for the purpose of obtaining pro-

Presented on June
19, 1560.

an hecho todas las diligẽcias q̃ an sido posibles enbiando capitanes con vergantines y barcos a procuralla y buscalla por Rios esteros y çienagas con grandes trabajos de capitanes y soldados como es publico e notorio y con todos estos trabaxos e diligẽcias que se an hecho no se a podido basteçer El campo ni gente antes En el dhõ tiempo a benido a descaeçer y enflaqueçer tanto los soldados y gente que de un mes a esta parte no ai hombre q̃ tenga animo ni fuerças para ninguna cosa, E por estas Razones y otras que tengo dhãs y se podrian deçir se a tratado y procurado de Remedio como tengo dhõ y el ultimo Remedio y esperança que la gente tenia era la benida de los nabios de la nueba españa y socorro que se esperaba En fin de abril / o en todo mayo proximos pasados. El qual no a benido a diez y nuebe deste mes de Junio.

V Yten quedo /otra esperança y Remedio que la gente ternia de los maizales e sementeras y algunas legumbres salbaginas que se hallaban Ribera deste Rio de nanipacna y del de tome a los quales an ydo los capitanes baltasar de sotelo y Juº de porras y diego tellez bolbiendo con toda la gente muerta de hambre no hallando grano de maiz los maiçales arrancados y quemados y aRancadas por los naturales todas sus sementeras y hasta las yerbas salbajes de que tienen entendido q̃ nos podiamos aprobechar y comemos, de cuya causa a benido Este canpo a las neçesidades dhãs y muertes de algunos, desta causa /

V Para Remedio de lo dhõ .V. s^a a tratado dello muchas y diuersas bezes a lo qual se determino fuese un bergantin a la habana por algun socorro y bastimento y deste pareçer yo fui el que mas lo procure con algunas causas y Razones que para ello se dieron y estando para partirse el dhõ bergantin con la plata de V.s^a y Ropas E preseas En cantidad de mas de tres mill p^{os} fue dhõ y alegado por los capitanes y ofiçiales de su mag^t. no ser neçesaria la Jornada ni conbeniente Remedio por Razones y causas que para ello dierõ diçiendo quel bastimento que de alli pudiera benir no Era bastante para la mucha gente que este campo tiene, a lo qual por mi fue Respondido ser neçesaria la Jornada, y el mas socoRido y brebe rremedio que al presente se podia tener. porque

visions all the efforts possible have been made by sending captains with brigantines and barks to obtain them and to search for them on the rivers, the inlets, and in the swamps, with great sufferings on the part of the captains and soldiers, as is public and notorious. But with all these exertions and the diligence which has been shown, it has not been possible to provision the camp or the people. Rather, during the period mentioned, the soldiers and the people have become so weak and have grown so thin that for a month past there has not been a man who has spirit or strength for anything. For these reasons and others which I have mentioned or which might be mentioned, relief has been discussed and attempted as I have said; but the last hope of relief which the people had, that of the coming of the ships from New Spain and the succor which they expected with them at the end of April and throughout all of May, the months just passed, has not yet materialized on the nineteenth of this month of June.

Moreover, there remained another hope of relief which the people had, that of the cornfields and grainfields and certain wild vegetables which were found on the banks of this river of Nani-pacana and the Tome. Captains Baltazar de Sotelo, Juan de Porras, and Diego Téllez went to these rivers, but returned with all their people dying of hunger, not having found one grain of corn; the cornfields had been pulled up, and all the fields burned and pulled up by the natives, [as had] even the wild herbs, which they had learned that we could make use of and which we eat. For this reason the camp has fallen into the want described, and some deaths have occurred from the same cause.

For the remedy of this situation your Lordship has on many occasions held numerous consultations, due to which it was decided that a brigantine should go to La Havana for aid and provisions. This recourse I was the one to urge most, for certain reasons and causes which were given; but when the brigantine was about to sail, with your Lordship's money, clothing, and jewels to the value of over three thousand pesos, it was alleged and claimed by the captains and officials of his Majesty that the voyage was not necessary nor a suitable recourse, for reasons and causes which they gave, saying that the provisions which might be brought from there would not suffice for the many people which this camp contains. To this I replied that the voyage was necessary, and the most prompt and effective remedy which at the time could be obtained; for, God willing, the round trip voyage

siendo dios serbido era Jornada de un mes de yda y buelta, En efeto Esto çeso y tratado de mayor Remedio asi de pareçer de ofiçiales y capitanes se concluyo y por pedimiº y protestaçiones que todo el campo y Soldados hizierõ el mayor remedio era que toda la gente y campo se baxase este Rio abaxo, a la baia felipina /

V de cuyas neçesidades y causas .V.sª tubo pareçer y trato Entrar la trãa adentro, adonde el sarjento mayor y capitanes Estan como pareçe por la notifiçacion dhã a que me Refiero / y Respondiendo a esto digo que sabido y bisto El mal camino de Esteros y çienagas cañaberales y montes y las grandes neçesidades que El campo y gente paso, temiendo, que la maliçia de los naturales se a senbrado por toda la tierra y alçado los bastimentos y casas que tenian como a pareçido En esta comarca de doze y quinze leguas a la Redonda que hasta los puºs an õmado, Esta claro El peligro En que V.sª y toda la gente podria pasar, Espeçial Estando tan dibilitados Ellos y los caballos ñ no Estan para andar vna legua En todo un dia y no pudiendo sacar deste asiento ni campo ninguna ayuda de bastimento ni se Espera tenerlo En todo El camino pues son mas de quarenta leguas de despoblado, a sido El pareçer de todos, y el mio Es questa jornada y determinaçion al prẽ çese por las causas y Razones dhãs E por las siguientes /

[80 b] V lo primero. por la esperança y çertenidad que se tiene de la benida del armada y socorro ñ de la nueba España se Espera con el qual Este campo sera socorrido y Remediado abra bastimentos conque la gente que ubiere de Entrar la tierra adentro tengan Remº para hazer la jornada y pasar El camino sin los trabajos y peligro que al presente se pasaria /

V Yten Es neçesario Esperar beinte y dos soldados que se an Enbiado al puerto donde quedo El capitan Xaramillo a saber del y de la gente que con el Esta y saber si El armada Es benida como se Espera cada dia que berna /

V lo/otro porque tambien esta probeido un batel con quarenta hombres que a seis dias ñ salio deste sitio y Real para saber de la

could be made in a month and a half. As a matter of fact this recourse was given up, a more effective remedy was discussed, and both because of the opinions of the officials and captains and of the petitions and protestations which all the camp and the soldiers made, it was concluded that the best solution would be for all the people and the camp to go down this river to the Bahía Filipina.

Your Lordship had an opinion concerning all these necessities and argument, and you proposed [an expedition] to move inland to where the *maestre de campo* and the captains are, as appears from the aforesaid notice, to which I refer [you]. Replying to this I say: that in knowledge and view of the bad road, through marshes, swamps, canebrakes, and forests, and of the great privations through which the camp and the people have passed, and in the fear that the ill will of the natives has been spread throughout all the land, so that they may have hidden the food and destroyed the houses which they had, as has been done in this district for twelve or fifteen leagues around about, for they have even burned their towns, it is evident that you and all the people would pass through much danger, especially since they are so debilitated; the horses are not able to go a league in an entire day, and it is not possible to take from this settlement or camp any supply of food, nor is it to be hoped that any can be obtained on all the road, of which more than forty leagues are through unpopulated territory. Therefore it is my opinion and that of everyone that the decision to make the journey ought for the present to be given up, for the causes and reasons given and for the following ones:

[80 v] First, because of the hope and certainty which is felt as to the coming of the fleet and the aid which is expected from New Spain wherewith this camp will be succored and restored. There will then be provisions wherewith the people who are to go inland may have enough to make the journey and traverse the road without the difficulties and the danger through which they would at present have to pass.

Moreover, it is necessary to wait for twenty-two soldiers who have been sent to the port where Captain Xaramillo stayed, to obtain information concerning him and the people who are with him, and to learn whether the fleet has come, it being expected every day that it will arrive.

Another [reason] is that there has also been sent out a bateau which left this site and camp six days ago with forty men to obtain

gente y campo que Esta la trña Adentro y a procurar algun maiz /o bastimento para Este campo /

V' Yten asimismo se Espera Respuesta del yll^{mo} Sor viRei de la barca q̃ se enbio a la nueba España con la Razon y neçesidad que este campo tiene la qual Se cree berna brebe porq̃ a quarenta dias que se partio, por todo lo dhõ a paresçido çese la salida de V.s^a y gente q̃ pensaba llebar hasta que plaçiendo a nro señor se tenga algun socorro y claridad de todo lo dhõ, y entretanto que Esto se Espera se a tratado y trata del Remedio queste campo y gente tendra para las necesidades presentes que a pasar mas que doze o quinze dias podria peresçer todo el campo o benir / a comerse todos los caballos ques la fuerça q̃ tenemos, y Esta Es mi Respuesta y pareçer quanto a lo tratado y platicado /

JORJE CERON.

[*Rubricado*]

[81 a]

†

LOS CAPITANES REPRESENTAN MUCHOS INCONUINIENTES PARA YR
LA TËRA ADENTRO

muy Ill^e señor

presentada en xjx
de Jui^e 1560 años

Llamados por .V.S^a. los capitanes don pedro de acuña y baltasar de sotelo diego tellez Juan de porras antonio hortiz de matienço pero lopez de naba miercoles por la mañana q̃ se contaron diez y nueve dias del mes de Junio de 1560 a^os estando presentes Jorge çeron Sayabedra maestre de campo /y los/oficiales tesorero alonso Velazquez y Alonso perez contador y el liçençiado barandalla Vicario nos fue mandado diesemos nro paresçer sobre la nescesi-
dad estrema de hambre q̃ todo el campo y gente del pasa de q̃ notoriamente no se espera sino muerte de todos en general si seria bien subir la tierra adentro con la gente q̃ en este dhõ campo ay a buscar al Sargento mñor mateo del Sauz y los demas capitanes q̃ alla estan / o baxarnos a la baya felipina para nos entre-
tener hasta aguardar el rremedio q̃ del Señor Visorrey de la

information concerning the people and the camp in the interior and to obtain some maize or other food for this camp.

Moreover we are also awaiting the reply of the illustrious vice-roy to the report which was sent to New Spain on the bark, telling of the necessity in which this camp is. It is believed that this reply will soon come, because it is now forty days since the bark left. Therefore on account of all that I have said it appears to me that the departure which your Lordship and the people have thought of should be deferred until in the pleasure of our Lord some succor is obtained, and some solution found for what I have recounted. In the meantime, while this is being awaited the relief which this camp and people shall have from the necessities of the present, has been and must be considered, for by twelve or fifteen days more the entire camp may perish or come to eating all the horses, which is the [only] recourse we have. And this is my reply and opinion touching what has been conferred about and discussed.

JORGE CERÓN.

[*Rubric*]

[81 r]

†

THE CAPTAINS REPRESENT THE MANY OBSTACLES TO PREVENT
GOING INLAND

Very Illustrious Sir:

We captains, Don Pedro de Acuña, Baltazar de Sotelo, Diego Téllez, Juan de Porras, Antonio Ortíz de Matienzo, and Pedro López de Nava, having been called by your Lordship on Wednesday morning, the nineteenth day of the month of June, 1560, there being present also Jorge Cerón Saavedra, *maestre de campo*, the officials Alonso Velázquez, the treasurer and Alonso Pérez, the accountant, Licenciado Barandalla, [and the father] vicar, were ordered to give our opinions concerning the extreme suffering from hunger which all the camp and the people in it are enduring, from which it is notorious that nothing is expected but the death of everyone in general, and as to whether it would be better to go inland with the people who are in this camp to search for the *sargento mayor*, Mateo del Sauz, and the other captains who are there, or to go down to the Bahía Filipina, so as to maintain ourselves while we await the relief we are hoping for from the

Presented June 19,
1560.

nueva españa esperamos y abendonos bisto en ello nos rresumimos todos Juntos unanimes en este paresçer./

V En quanto a lo q̃ toca al subir la tierra adentro con V.S^a ay grandissima dyfficultad y notorio rriesgo de nñas bidas y de peresçer y desbaratarse todo el exerçito porq̃ al presente los q̃ aqui estamos como es notorio no tenemos ningun maiz ni Vellota ni/otro genero de bastimento para poder subir y caminar la tierra adentro y Como a V.S^a le consta por los capitanes q̃ alla andan y rreligiosos y por las entradas y deligençias q̃ hemos hecho sabemos cierto q̃ sesenta/o setenta leguas el rrio arriba no le ay para q̃ yendo marchando el exerçito por la tierra adentro le pueda hallar. y demas desto .V.S^a le consta por las cartas de los dhõs capitanes q̃stan la tierra adentro el gran trabaxo de hambre q̃ pasaron y pasan por estar toda la tierra alçada y sin genero de bastimento alguno/ y abiendo como ay pocos naturales y la tierra aparexada para no poder ser abidos espeçialmente [81 b] con la equidad q̃ su mag^t por su rreal ynstruçion manda q̃ se ayan/. y q̃ para llegar adonde al presente pueden estar los dhõs sargento mayor y capitanes seria nesçesario llebar bastimento para mas de quarenta dias y ya q̃ pudieramos alla llegar lo q̃l es ymposible seria poner en mayor nesçesidad y detrimento a los q̃ alla estan. pues siendo como son pocos y pasando la nesçesidad q̃ pasan menos se podrian sustentar ellos y nosotros pues de nesçesidad abriamos menester mas bastimento siendo en cantidad mas gente de manera q̃ todos peresçeriamos./ y si .V.S^a dexa alguna gente aquy como paresçe quiere dexar con el.maestre de canpo para q̃ se bayan a la felipina esta ya tan desbergonçada y yndomita q̃ no abiendo muchos q̃ se lo rresistan y espeçialmente la presençia de .V.S^a y de sus capitanes es çierto segun las cosas y desacatos q̃ an pasado se alçarian los q̃ pudiesen con los bergantines y barcos q̃ al presente ay en el exerçito y se yrian con ellos y dexarian a los demas si q̃dasen bibos perdidos sin rremedio ninguno/ mas q̃ esperar la muerte /.

V / otro si subiendo .V.S^a la tierra adentro desta manera ya q̃ obiera bastimentos para poderlo hazer paresçe cosa ynconsiderada dibidir la poca gente de guerra/ q̃ al presente ay en el exerçito en tantas partes y seria causa q̃ los yndios estando como estan alterados nos destruiesen a todos aprobechandose como hasta aquy

viceroy of New Spain. Having examined the situation we all join unanimously in the following opinion:

As to that which concerns going inland with your Lordship, there is very great difficulty and notorious risk to our lives, and danger that we perish and all the army be broken up; for at present those of us who are here, it is notorious, have no maize or acorns or any other kind of food to enable us to go up and travel inland. And as is known to your Lordship from the captains and the religious who are there, and from the expeditions and the efforts which we have made, we know for certain that for sixty or seventy leagues up the river there is no food which can be found by marching the army inland. Besides this, your Lordship knows from the letters from those captains who are in the interior what great trouble they have passed and are passing through from hunger because the whole land is in revolt and without any manner of food whatever. And there being, as there are, few natives, and the land so disposed that they cannot be taken, especially [81 v] with the mildness which his Majesty in his royal instruction commands that they be treated, it would be necessary, in order to get to where the said sargento mayor and captains must be, to carry food for more than forty days; and even if we could reach there, which is impossible, it would only be to place in greater need and detriment those who are there. For since they, though few, as they are, are experiencing the necessity which they do, there would be so much the less wherewith to sustain them and us, for of course we should have need of more food, being a greater number of people, and we should all perish. And if your Lordship leaves any people here, as it appears you desire to do, with the *maestre de campo*, in order that they may go down to *La Filipina*, it must be remembered that they are so bold and unruly that unless there are many to prevent it, and especially unless you and your captains are present, it is certain from their disrespectful attitudes and the things which have happened, that those who could do so would revolt with the brigantines and barks which the army has at present, and they would go away in them and leave the rest, if they lived, lost and with no recourse other than to wait for death.

Moreover, if you were to go up into the interior in this way, supposing there were enough provisions for you to do so, it seems an unwise thing to divide into so many parts the few fighting men who are now in the army. It would cause the Indians, they being hostile, as they are, to destroy us by availing themselves, as

se an aprobechado aguardarnos a çiertos pasos de suerte ã no los pudiendo / ofender ellos a nosotros por no saber la tierra ni los Caminos nos / ofendiesen /.

V' Y aliende desto para subir .V.Sª la tierra adentro al presente no ay /oportunidad pues no se sabe adonde el sargento myor/y los demas capitanes estan ni camino para los poder yr a buscar siendo como es la tierra çenagosa y de tan grandes cañaberales y alcabucos y tan cerrada /. y tambien porã no sabiendo el camino podriamos açertar a yr por algun despoblado ã tardasemos mucho tpo y entrasen las aguas y el y[n]bierno de arte ã muriesemos todos/. pues ãdar y estar aquy donde al presente estamos/por las rraçones arriba dhãs nos paresçe por ninguna bia se puede hazer por careçer como de hecho careçemos de bastimentos y por aberse despoblado todo el rrio abaxo y aberse ydo los naturales de sus casas y aber talado y ãmado y arrancado todas las sementeras como lo abemos bisto los ã por alla hemos andado /. y puesto caso ã oy este dhõ dia [82 a] la armada y socorro estubiese en el puerto de polonca/ no nos podria rremediar porã en subirlo desde alla aca por lo menos los primeros barcos ã biniesen con bastimento tardarian beinte y çinco /o treinta dias y no ay hombres que puedan ni quyeran bogar ni tengan fuerças para ello aunã comiesen muy bien de lo ã la armada traxese por estar como estan tan dibilitados y flacos de la hambre ã an pasado y pasan / y ya ã pudiesen y quisiesen en la subida del dhõ bastimento se lo comerian todo los ã lo truxesen y nunca este pueblo se beria sin nesçesidad de bastimento. /. y demas desto en esta coyuntura los barcos y bergantines no tendriamos por açertado ã baxasen al puerto porã. se alçarian los soldados ã en ellos fuesen con ellos y se yrian sin tener rrespeto a/otra cosa alguna./.

en q^{to} a lo ã toca yrnos a la felipina, paresçe cosa mas congrua y conbiniente porã en baxar de aquy ally se podria tardar a lo mas largo quatro /o çinco dias y estos la gente yria con muy poco trabaxo por ir como ban los barcos agua abaxo y con algunas yerbas ã en la rybera del rrio la gente cogiese se podria sustentar hasta llegar alla sin /otro bastimento alguno./. y llegados a la dhã baya asentando alli podriase la gente sustentar con el mucho marisco de hostiones y xaybas y con el pescado ã en la dhã baya

they have hitherto done, of the opportunity to lie in wait for us at certain places where they could attack us while we, not knowing the country or the roads, could not oppose them.

More than this, there is no opportunity at present for you to go up into the interior, for it is not known where the sargento mayor and the other captains are nor the road by which to go and find them, since the land is so swampy, so full of canebrakes and brambles, and so full of obstructions. Also, not knowing the road, we might [not] strike it, and go through some desert which would delay us a long time; the rains might come and the winter set in, so that we should all die. Hence it appears to us that by no means can we remain where we are at present, for the reasons stated above, because of the lack of food which we actually suffer and because all the country downstream is deserted, the natives have gone from their houses, and have cut down and burned and pulled up all the fields, as we who have passed through them have seen. If by chance on this very day [82 r.] the fleet and the succor were right in the port of Polonza, we should not be able to help our condition, for it would take the first barks to come up from there to here with food at least twenty-five or thirty days, and here are no men who could or who would do the rowing or have enough strength to do it even though they might be well fed on what the fleet might bring, on account of being, as they are, so weak and debilitated from the hunger they have been and are enduring. And even if they could and would, they would eat up all the food they might carry while bringing it up, and this town would never be relieved of the need of food. More than this, in such a crisis we should not be wise to let the barks and brigantines go down to the port, for the soldiers who might go in them would revolt with them and would go away without having concern for anything else.

As to the desirability of our going to La Filipina, this seems to us a more fitting and congruous idea; for it might take at most four or five days to go down there from here, and in this time the people might go with little hardship, for the barks would be going downstream and they might without other food whatever sustain themselves with what few herbs they might gather on the banks of the river until they should arrive. After reaching the bay and establishing themselves there, they could sustain themselves on the many shellfish such as oysters, crawfishes, and the many fish which there are in the bay, and on the great quantity of

ay y con la gran cantidad de palmitos q̃ ally cerca ay y aliende desto ay cantidad de benados de todo lo q̃l careçemos en esta tierra como a .V.S^a le consta./. y demas desto estariamos mas apiq̃ esperando el socorro q̃l Ill^{mo} Virrey de la nueva españa nos ymbiase / o del q̃ nosotros proCurasemos traer de la habana /o de /otra parte a costa de n̄ras haziendas a lo q̃l nos proferimos todos cada uno segun la cantidad de hazienda q̃ tiene porq̃ esta empresa q̃ tanto a su mag^{td} ha costado y al Ill^{mo} señor Visorrey en su nombre la ayudemos con todas n̄ras fuerças a sustentar y ir adelante ./.. y llegado q̃ llegue ally el socorro por una bia / o por /otra puede q̃dar alli poblado Juan xaramillo con toda la gente casada y no dispuesta para entrar la tierra adentro con mugeres y niños y .V.S^a y nosotros tomaremos lo q̃ vuenamente pudieremos llebar de bastimento y a la ligera entraremos la tierra adentro. / y en el entretanto .V.S^a sabra a do esta el sargento myor /y los demas capitanes y la disposiçion de la tierra mas largamente pues ba a ello el capitan sotelo y trayendole a .V.S^a guias p[or] hazertarse ha la jornada haziendose lo q̃ mas conbenga al serbiçio de su mag^{td} y esto es n̄ro paresçer de los q̃ aquy firmamos y lo q̃ damos por rrespuesta a lo q̃ por .V.S^a nos es preguntado /. y si estas causas a .V.S^a no le satisfaçieren ni le paresçieren ser bastantes para dexar de seguir su paresçer [82 b] y entrar la tierra adentro todos como leales basallos de su mag^{td} y buenos capitanes a .V.S^a como a n̄ro general y governador dado por su mag^{td} siguyremos hasta la muerte siendo serbiçio de dios y de su mag^{td} pero protestando como protestamos q̃ si de la entrada /ciega y sin saber adonde y con los ynconbinientes q̃ tenemos dh̄os y declarados se siguyeren como tenemos entendido se siguiran muertes y eçesibos daños y benirse a despoblar la tierra como de hecho se despoblara y perderse el dh̄o exercito como de hecho se perdera / sea a cargo de .V.S^a y no de nosotros ni de n̄ros suçesores ny deçendientes y esto es lo q̃ todos damos por rrespuesta y firmamoslo de n̄ros nombres/.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA.

BALTASAR DE SOTELO.

ANTONIO ORTIZ DE MATIENÇO.

DIEGO TELLEZ.

JU^o DE PORRAS.

P^o LOPEZ DE NAUA.

[Rubricados]

Y en esta tierra adentro, todos como tales casados de su madre y bue
nas capitales a. V. S. como a su general y gobernador. Por lo
que su madre seguimos hasta a muerte siendo serenos de Dios y de
su padre pero por el fondo como por el alma y su vida en esta vida y
su padre adonde y como y quien bienvenidos y tenemos a Dios y a la
vida. Se siguieren como tenemos entendido se siguieren nuestros y cesi
de una y bien se a despojar la tierra como de hecho se despojará y
se o de hecho es como de hecho se perdiera sea a cargo de V. S.
Y no de nosotros ni de nros sucesores ni de descendientes y esto es lo que
nos damos por una parte y firmamos lo a nros nombrados

Don Pedro de Salazar Don Diego Velasco
Don Juan de Salazar Don Juan de Salazar
Don Juan de Salazar Don Juan de Salazar
Don Juan de Salazar Don Juan de Salazar

FACSIMILE OF FOLIO 82, VERSO, OF "THE LUNA PAPERS," SHOWING THE SIGNATURES OF SOME OF THE CAPTAINS WHO ACCOMPANIED LUNA, ATTACHED TO THEIR REPRESENTATION OF JUNE 19, 1560



palmettos which are there; and besides these there are a great many deer, all of which we are without in this country, as you know. In addition, we should be closer at hand while awaiting the succor which the most illustrious viceroy of New Spain might send us or which we might attempt to bring from La Havana or from any other place at the expense of our own private estates, which each and every one of us offers to give according to the amount of wealth he possesses. For this enterprise, which has cost his Majesty, and the most illustrious viceroy in his name, so much money, we would aid with all our powers to sustain and move forward. After the succor shall have reached there in one way or another, Juan Xaramillo could remain settled there with all the married people who are not disposed to go inland with women and children. Then your lordship and we will take whatever of provisions we may easily carry and go inland in light marching order. In the meantime you will find out where the sargento mayor and the other captains are, and more definitely what the character of the country is, for Captain Sotelo is going for this purpose, and when he brings you guides you will be bound to succeed on your expedition, and thus what is most fitting to his Majesty's service will be done. This is the opinion of us who hereto subscribe, and we offer it as a response to that which was asked us by your lordship. If these arguments do not satisfy you nor seem sufficient to induce you to give up your decision [82 v] to go inland, all of us as loyal vassals of his Majesty and good captains under your Lordship as our general and governor placed over us by his Majesty, will follow you until death in the service of God and his Majesty. But we protest that if a blind expedition to a place unknown under the difficulties which we have named and declared is followed, as we believe it will be, by deaths and excessive injuries, and if the land comes to be depopulated as in matter of fact it will be, and the army lost as in truth it will be lost, then let it be charged against you, and not against us nor our successors or descendants. This is what we all give as our reply, and we sign it with our names.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA.

BALTAZAR DE SOTELO.

ANTONIO ORTÍZ DE MATIENZO.

DIEGO TÉLLEZ.

JUAN DE PORRAS.

PEDRO LÓPEZ DE NAVA.

[*Rubrics*]

[83 a]

OTRA DE VN PARTICULAR

†

mui yll^e S^{or}

presentada en xjx
de Jui^o 1560

considerados y sigun mi torpe juicio mirado la Proposicion de VV. S^a en la q̄l nos trae a la memoria la notoria neçesidad queste Exercito Padeçe y la esclamacion jeneral de las mujeres e ninos e jente menuda que ai en el Los quales /con Ynstancia y muchas lagrimas Piden a V.S. que porque no perescan de hanbre Los lleVe a lugar conbeniente donde en Alguna manera Puedan guareçer sus vidas De cuiã cabsa .V. S. propuso y nos manifesto que Por cunplir con lo ques obligado al serbiçio de dios n^{ro} S^{or} y al de su m^t. aVia enBiado capitanes y jente de geRa para descubrir y pacificar la probincia de coça y que pues el Remedio estava tan lejos y se tardaba tanto de la nueba españa do se esperaba queria con la jente q̄ seguir quisyesen a .V.S. yr a Buscar los capitanes y jente questaban la tieRa dentro proponiendo de no hazer fuerça a nadie pa que le syguiesen y que por satisfazer a las /peticiones del pueblo y jente menuda dexaria al mui mag^{co} señor jorge seron sayabedra maese de campo e justicia mayor destas probinçias de la florida por su m^t para q̄ su m. los pusiese En parte donde mas conbiniese /. Visto y considerado lo uno y lo otro debaxo del mejor pareçer digo q̄ hablando con el debido acatamiento el de .V.S. no se deve poner en Efeto ni conViene al sr^o de dios ni de su mag^t. ni a la consolacion deste exercito por las Razones Siguientes.

lo primero porque sy .V.S^a aora se mobiese para hazer El tal Viaje seria en daño de su persona y en Riesgo de la Vida de .V.S^a y de las Vidas de los caValleros que les siguiesen por no tener certidunbre de la parte dondestan los caPitanes y jente de la tieRa dentro. Asi por no tener guias para quel campo Pueda siguramente marchar y caso que la obiera y se supiera El lugar do estavan los sobre dichos caPitanes No tiene .V.S^a bas-[83 b]timiento Para poder marchar q.^{tro} dias y por el camino en espaçio de ochenta leguas no lo ai ni se halla como es notorio. i la jente q̄ obiere de seguir a .V.S. sera por conplir con lo q̄ deVen puesto questa En-

[83 r] ANOTHER OPINION BY A PRIVATE PERSON

†

Very Illustrious Sir:

I have considered and examined according to my rude judgment the proposal of your Lordship, in which you call to our attention the grave necessity from which this army is suffering and the general outcry of the women and children and lesser persons who are in it, who with insistence and many tears beseech you to take them, lest they perish from hunger, to a suitable place where they may in some manner preserve their lives. As a result of this you informed us and made manifest to us that in order to comply with your obligation to the service of God our Lord and his Majesty you had sent captains and soldiers to discover and pacify the province of Coosa; and that because the remedy [of our situation] was so remote and so slow in coming from New Spain whence it was expected, you desired to go with the people who might be willing to follow you, to find the captains and people who are in the interior; you did not propose to use force to induce anyone to follow you, and in order to satisfy the petitions of the people and the lesser persons, you offered to leave behind the very magnificent Jorge Cerón Saavedra, maestro de campo and chief justice of these provinces of La Florida for his Majesty, in order that his Magnificence might locate them wherever might be most suitable. I have considered and examined [I repeat] the one thing and the other, and I say that according to my best opinion and speaking with due respect, your Lordship's determination ought not to be put into effect, it being neither to the service of God nor of his Majesty, nor for the consolation of this army, for the following reasons:

First: because if you now undertake to make this journey it will be only to the damage of your person, and the risk of your life and of those of the gentlemen who might follow you, because you have no certainty as to where the captains and people inland are. Neither have you guides by whose aid your camp might march safely; and even in case you had, and the place where the said captains are were known, you have not enough [83 v] food to be able to march four days, and there is none to be had along the way for a distance of eighty leagues nor can any be found, as is notorious. And the people who might follow you would go only

Presented June 19,
1560.

tendido q̃ apenas ninguno tenerse Puede para poder caminar ni tienen bastimentos para poder sustentar dos dias y claro pareçe por estas Rasones q̃ no es cosas [*sic*] Razonable / q̃ .V.s. vaya adelante syn saber Resoluçion y çertidunbre de lo q̃ ai pues para este Efeto .V.s. a enbiado jente de Recabdo de quien se tiene entendido q̃ con la brebedad posible daran abiso a .V.S.

V lo otro caso q̃ la persona del dho s. maese de canpo Sea sufiçiente para el gobierno y espediçion de negoçios de mas calidad quel que se le encomienda no es bien ni pareçe coSa conveniente q̃ .V.S. le dexe pues le son notorias las desverguenças dissoluçiones y malos miramientos de mucha jente deste canpo/ que mediante el Vexamen de la hanbre se atreben a ser desVbidientes y podrian dar ocasion a q̃l dho S. m^e de canpo hiziese algun jeneral castigo de que a su persona sucediese daño q̃ no se deVeria de permitir por ninguna Via pues es publico y notorio con averse ahorcado dos soldados y puesto a otros apunto y castigado a otros muchos no se pueden coRegir y con la persona de .V.S. y con su presençia se pueden proybir muchos casos q̃ podrian çuçeder con su aVsença En daño Del Buen gobierno

V por las quales Razones y por cada Vna dellas me pare[ce] q̃ .V.S. no se deVe de mober con este canpo a parte alguna por espaçio de ocho dias en los q̃les podria Venir nueba del capitan Ju^o xaramillo aVnque por esperar este tienpo se coman algunos cavallos. y no biniendo nueba alguna en este tienpo me pareçe q̃ .V.S. deVe condeçender En las suplicaciones E Ruegos de la jente q̃ pide q̃ les lleVen a la baia felipina a do puedan en alguna manera sustentarse En tanto q̃ Viene el neçesario Remedio el qual .V.S. con acuerdo de los caValleros de su conSejo estando alli podia dar y esto con fin de sustentar la tierra /. porq̃ son de parescer q̃ no se de licencia a honbre ny muger sin q̃ se sepa la voluntad de su m̃. o la del S^{or} ViRey de la nueba españa en su Real nonbre sin ligitima Causa de muy notoria enfermedad.

ALONZO FAJARDO.

[*Rubricado*]

to comply with their duty, for it is well known that hardly any of them have the strength to be able to travel, nor have they food to sustain themselves on for two days. Hence it appears clear for these reasons that it would be an irrational thing for you to undertake this advance without knowing definitely and certainly what may be ahead of you; for you have sent out people of good judgment for this purpose, and it is well understood that they will report to you just as promptly as possible.

Again, even though the character of the *maestre de campo* may be adapted to governing and the transaction of business of greater importance than that usually intrusted to him, yet it is not proper, nor does it seem a convenient thing, for you to leave him in charge, for you are well aware of the shamelessness, dissoluteness, and evil intentions of many of the people of this camp, and that under the vexation of hunger they may dare to be disobedient; they might give an occasion for the *maestre de campo* to impose some general punishment wherefrom injury might result to his person, and this ought not to be permitted by any means. For it is public and notorious that although he has hanged two soldiers, threatened some with death, and punished many others, yet he cannot control them. But with your person and presence many incidents may be forefended which in your absence might occur to hinder good government.

For which reasons and for each of them it seems to me that you ought not to move anywhere with this camp for the period of a week, during which time news may come from Captain Juan Xaramillo, even though this wait may cause us to eat some of the horses. Then, if no news comes within that time, it seems to me that you ought to yield to the supplications and entreaties of the people who ask that you take them to the Bahía Filipina, where they can in some fashion sustain themselves until the needed relief comes. This relief you could give out in agreement with the gentlemen of your council if you were there, for the purpose of retaining possession of the land. For these gentlemen are of the opinion that no license should be given to any man or woman without knowing the pleasure of his Majesty or that of the viceroy of New Spain in his royal name, except for the legitimate reason of very serious illness.

ALONSO FAJARDO.

[*Rubric*]

[84 a]

OTRA DE VN ALFEREZ Y CAPITAN

†

muy ille señor

presentada en xjx
de Jui° 1560 a°s

don martin doz alferes jeneral por su majestad y Julian de acuña capitán del artilleria y municiones rrespondiendo a lo q̃ por Ṽra .S. nos fue mandado dezimos ñro parezer es q̃ Ṽra .S. no deue salir deste campo para ir donde esta El sarjento mayor por los ynconbinientes q̃ dello se podria seguir lo uno es por la necesidad grande q̃ ai de comida y no abiendola no es justo q̃ Ṽra .S. auenture su persona y las de los q̃ le siguiesen espeçialmente q̃ se sabe la necesidad q̃ el sarjento mayor lleuo por el camino por auer tan pocos uastimentos por donde fue / y lo otro por no lleuar guias ni saber donde esta el sarjento mayor y El mayor nos pareçe q̃ si Ṽra .S. saliese de aqui seria auenturar este exerçito porq̃ faltando la presençia de Ṽra .S. la jente esta tal y de tan rruines yntenciones q̃ no rrespectara ni obedecera a ninguno abnq̃ fuese al maese de campo de donde podria suceder gran daño y perdiçion / quanto a lo q̃ toca a la yda [84 b] a la uaya filipina dezimos q̃ uista la neçesidad grande q̃ al presente se pasa por falta de comida nos pareçe Ṽra .S. con este campo se deue ir donde se tiene entendido se podra sustentar con el pescado y marisco q̃ En la uaya filipina ai donde Ṽra .S. podra aguardar la flota q̃ se espera de la nueva españa y esto damos por pareçer fecho a 19 de junio 1560 a°s /

DON MÍN DOZ.

JULIAN DE ACUÑA.

[*Rubricados*]

[85 a]

REQUERIM° DE LOS OFFICIALES

†

presentada en
xxiiij° de Jui° 1560
años

Esui° questays presente dadnos por fee e testimi° como yo el thes° aol velasq̃ e yo el contador alonso perez ofiçiales de la Real haz^{da}

[84 r] ANOTHER [OPINION] FROM AN ENSIGN AND A CAPTAIN

†

Very Illustrious Sir:

Don Martín Doz, ensign general for his Majesty, and Julián de Acuña, captain of artillery and munitions, replying to what was commanded of us by your Lordship, say: that our opinion is that your Lordship ought not to set out from this camp to go to where the sargento mayor is because of the difficulties which might arise from so doing. One of these is the great need of food which exists, for without food it would not be right for you to hazard your person and those of the ones who might follow you, especially as the want is known which the sargento mayor experienced on the way because there was so little food where he went. Another is that there are no guides to take, nor does anyone know where the sargento mayor is. But the chief reason, it seems to us, is that if you were to set out from here it would be only to risk this army, for if your presence be lacking the people are of such character and of such low intentions that they will not respect or obey anyone, not even the maestro de campo. Hence great damage and loss might happen. As to the matter of going to [84 v] the Bahía Filipina, we say that in view of the great suffering at present being endured for lack of food, it seems to us that you ought to go there with this camp, where it is believed that it can be sustained on the fish and shellfish which are found in the Bahía Filipina, and where you will be able to await the fleet which is expected from New Spain. This we give as our opinion. Dated June 19, 1560.

Presented June 19,
1560.

DON MARTÍN DOZ.

JULIÁN DE ACUÑA.

[*Rubrics*]

[85 r]

REQUEST OF THE OFFICIALS

†

You notary who are present, give us witness and testimony of how I the treasurer, Alonso Velázquez, and I, the accountant, Alonso Pérez, officials of the royal treasury of his Majesty in

Presented June 24,
1560.

de su mag^t en estas probincias de la florida Requerimos Al muy Ill^e señor don tristan de luna y arellano / gouernador y Capitan general por El Rey don fhelipe n^{ro} señor En estas dhas probinçias que por quanto thenemos entendido por las Juntas y aCuerdos que su S^a con el m^e de Campo y Capitanes deste exerçito a hecho que por Razon de la estrema neşçesidad de hambre que de presente toda la jente deste campo padeçe quiere diuidir los soldados del tratando de hazer baxar los Casados y jente flacos y enfermos A la baya phelipina y su señoria con el Restante del campo metherse en la tierra adentro en busca del sargento mayor y Capitanes que con el estan Sin aguardar Respuesta del ni dellos y sin thener mas Razon ni cierta notiçia del capitan Ju^o xaramillo ni de la jente que dexo poblada con el en el puerto de santa maria de la baya phelipina ni saber de la jente que a enbiado A Saber si ha Alleg^{do} la flota donde se esperan los bastim^{os} y municiones neşçesarias a este Campo ymportando El aguardalla pa la salud de todo el quanto ymporta como A todos es not^o de lo qu^{al} todo Resultan muy conoşçidos ynconbinientes haziendolo ansi como su S^a lo t^e propuesto todos En deseruicio de Dios e de la yntencion Real del Rey n^{ro} señor como claram^{te} paresçe por el descontento pu^{co} de la jente deste campo como A su s^a m^e de campo y Capitanes es ya not^o por Razon de la crezida hambre que padeçen todos por falta de bastim^{os} y por ella le consta los Atrebimi^{os} e desAcatos que muchos Soldados A la persona de su s^a y a las del m^e de Campo y Capitanes ã thenido e tienen en diferentes tiempos y lugares no enbargante que Algunos destos desacatos se ayan Castig^{do} los quales por AVsençia de su señoria serian en los dhos Soldados Sin comparacion mayores por muy sabio abentajado y prudente que fuese El capitan que pa los gouernar con ellos quedase demas de lo qual Avnque es bastante Razon p^a que su s^a deba proueher en lo Venidero si todabia yrse determinase los que seguirlo oviesen lo harian bien questa aRiba por la falta not^a que en general se tiene en este campo de Comyda y entenderse y saberse que por donde su s^a oviese de yr demas que pa ello de presente faltan guias combinyentes sin esperanza de las poder aber la tieRa por do yr se tiene es çenegosa y toda llena desteros despoblada y sin ningun bastim^o como es pu^{co} y not^o y se puede aberiguar y pbar com personas ã lo am bisto y ãdado con el dho sarjento mayor e

these provinces of La Florida, make request of the very illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor and captain-general for the king, Don Felipe our lord, in these said provinces. For from what we have learned from the conferences and discussions which his Lordship has had with the *maestre de campo* and the captains of this army, he desires, because of the extreme suffering from hunger which all the people of this camp are now enduring, to divide the soldiers, sending the married persons and the weak and infirm to the Bahía Filipina while his Lordship with the rest of the force is to go inland in search of the *sargento mayor* and the captains who are with him, without waiting for any reply from him or them, without having any report or certain news from Captain Juan Xaramillo or of the people who were left with him settled at the port of Santa María de la Bahía Filipina, and without any word from the people who were sent to learn whether the fleet had arrived on which are expected the supplies and munitions needed for this camp. [We think that] it is extremely important to wait for it, since it is notorious to everyone what certain difficulties will result from doing as his Lordship has proposed, and what a disservice of God it would be and of the royal intention of the king our lord. This is plainly manifest by the public discontent of the people of this camp, which is notorious to the *maestre de campo* and the captains, on account of the extreme hunger all are suffering through lack of food. His Lordship is also aware of the bold and foolish actions which, due to this hunger, many of the soldiers have committed at divers times and places against his person and those of the *maestre de campo* and the captains, in spite of the fact that some of these actions have been punished. If his lordship were absent these affronts by soldiers would become incomparably greater, however wise, skilful, and prudent might be the captains who should be left with them to govern them. Furthermore, although this is reason enough, he ought in future to order that those who are to follow him, if it be finally decided to go, would do well to go to the coast, because of the notable lack of food which exists in this camp; [and he ought] to inform himself and find out just where he ought to go, especially as we now have no suitable guides nor hope of obtaining any, and the land which must be traversed is swampy, and all full of marshes, uninhabited and without food, as is of notorious public knowledge. This may be verified and proved by persons who have seen and traversed it with the *sargento mayor*, and who, because of its

por Razon de lo dho padezio en el dho biaje muy creçidas nesçesidades de hambre y otros trabaxos lo qual todo seria Causa para que mediante la hambre presente y la q̃ Caminando se padeçeria por la muncha distançia de tierra q̃ Ay hasta do El sargento mayor esta no solamente su s^a y los q̃ con el fuesemos de hambre pereçiesemos pero que mediante ella con los demas ỹconbinyentes por nosotros espresados por pte de los nescitados Soldados hubiese algun motin /o Alboroto que pusiese en aprieto la vida de su s^a y las de los q̃ seguillo oviesemos y se desquietase todo El Restante del campo mayormente que Avnque por todo lo dho paresçe dificultosa la determinacion de su s^a Asello no le ayudam^os la poCa certenidad que /oy se tiene del suçeso del sarjento mayor y Capitanes q̃ Con el estan y conbernia Antes que yr en su busca se determinase aguardalle para Saber lo que Responde que mas Al pro y conserbacion deste campo todo Combenga/. demas de lo qual Al serui^o de dios y del Rey n^{ro} señor cumple p^a la conseruacion deste Campo y gente menuda del su s^a de Asiento primero que arriba suba y desta probincia salga en la poblacion de los casados deste campo que por ynstrucion Real le es mandado haga para que mas comodamente los pobladores della se Aquieten y aseguren con sus hijos y mugeres/ e para esta Cumple de presente la personal AsistenCia de su s^a Aguardando Al capitan Ju^o xaramillo y jente q̃ con el en el puerto dexo [85 b] pues por Acuerdo de su s^a y del m^e de campo n^{ro} y el de los capitanes deste Exerçito esta determinado se despueble de presente el dho puerto por causas justas que p^a lo asi Acordar A su s^a y A todos los demas Caballeros deste campo mobieron y se pueble este pueblo de ypacana donde al presente Estamos /o Adonde mas Al pro de los pobladores vtilidad quietud y desCanso dellos conbenga/.

V por todo lo qual y Cada Vna cosa dellas como criados que somos del Rey don phelipe n^{ro} señor y como personas A quien les ymCumbe pedillo Requerillo y protestarlo por oviar de los daños que seguirse e ReCreçerse pueden Al señor gouernador le pedimos y Suplicamos y Si nesçes^o es con el Acatami^o debido las bezes que de dr^o ha lugar le Requerimos que su s^a no determine salir en la manera que tiene platicada en busca del sarjento mayor ni por ello dibidir este Campo Como dho tiene por los ymCombinientes que arriba dexamos dhos y aclarados y por lo que de Cada vno

condition as described, suffered very acutely from hunger and other difficulties on their journey. All this might be the cause, due to the present hunger and that to be suffered in traveling because of the long distance to the place where the sargento mayor is, that not only his Lordship and we who might go with him should perish from hunger, but also, that because of hunger and the other difficulties mentioned by us, there might occur some mutiny or disorder on the part of the needy soldiers which would place in jeopardy the lives of his Lordship and of all of us who followed him, and all the rest of the camp might be thrown into greater commotion. Although in view of all the foregoing it seems difficult enough to do what his Lordship has decided to do, he will not be helped by the scant information now possessed as to what has happened to the sargento mayor and the captains who are with him; and it would be desirable, rather than to set out to seek him, to wait and learn what his reply is, for this would conduce more effectively to the advantage and preservation of this camp and of the dependent people in it if his Lordship arrange, before he goes inland and leaves this province, for the settlement of the married people of the camp, as he is commanded by royal instruction, so that the settlers may be more commodiously provided for and be placed in safety with their wives and children. This demands at this time the personal presence of his Lordship, to wait for Captain Juan Xaramillo and the people whom he left [85 v.] with him at the port; for, by the agreement between his Lordship, the *maestre de campo*, and the captains of this army, it has been decided to abandon the port at this time for reasons sufficient to move his Lordship and all the other gentlemen of this camp to such a decision, and to settle at this town of Nanipacana where we are at present, or else at some other place which will be more favorable to the settlers, their profit, peace, and quiet.

For all of which reasons and each one of them we, good servants as we are of the king, Don Felipe our Lord, and as persons upon whom it is incumbent to petition him, to pray, and to protest to him that he obviate the harm which may befall and become more serious, do now petition and supplicate the governor, and if need be, with all due respect, as many times as the law requires, we demand of his Lordship not to decide to set out in the way he has talked of to look for the sargento mayor, nor for such purpose to divide this camp as he has said he would, because of the difficulties we have set forth and explained above. And we warn him

dellos Recreçerse puede con Aperçebimi^o q̃ lo contrario haziendo se lo pedirán en su t̃po y lugar y donde con dr^{co} pedirsele deban las muertes daños perdidas y m^{os} Cabos q̃ por Razon de la dha dha [*duplicado en el original*] determinación A la jente deste campo /o A qualquiera dellos se les ReCreçieren sino quel campo y jente del juntos su s^a los tenga debaxo de su mano y amparo ayude y faborezca con su asistencia llebandolos En esta presente nesçesidad que de hambre generalm^{te} En este Campo se padeçe Adonde mas comodamente su s^a sustentarlos pueda conforme al paresçer de su s^a m^e de Campo y Capitanes hasta en tanto q̃ venga la flota que esperamos y trayga bastim^{os} conque quedando probeйда y Contenta la jente que se señoria dexare poblada los que ovieren dentro en la tierra Adentro puedan yr probeidos de todo lo nesçes^o para tan larga jornada como es la q̃ por delante se tiene para que mejor se pueda cumplir el fin Real del Rey n̄ro señor y así como dho es se lo suplicamos pedimos Requerimos e protestamos y a vos el presente esn^o en n^e de su mag^d dezimos nos lo deis por testimi^o como dho es en manera q̃ haga fee para en guarda de n̄ro Dr^{co}

A^o UELAZQZ RE^{es}.

ALONSO PEREZ.

[*Rubricados*]

ACUERDO DE BAJAR A LA BAYA FELIPINA

E despues de lo suso dho en el dho pu^o de nipaCana en beinte y dos dias del mes de Junio del dhō año visto el muy yll^e S^{or} don tristan de luna y arellano gobernador y capitan general por su m^t en estas dhās probinçias de los paresçeres de los dhos m^e de canpo y capitanes y los demas Caballeros del consejo E rrequerim^o hecho por los dhos oficiales de la rrea hazienda / acordo de baxar con la dhā jente E canpo a la baia filipina adonde se puedan entretener con algun marisco de xaibas y ostiones y pesCado hasta tanto que dios n̄ro señor les probeiese de algun Remedio de bastimento para que con el pueda hazer aquello que mas Conpliere al serui^o de su m^t y en conplimiento dello mando a todos los Capi-

that if he persists in doing so he will be held responsible at the proper time and place, where he can be legally held, for all the deaths, damages, losses, and injuries which may inure to the people of this camp or to any one of them from the said determination, unless his Lordship keeps them together under his hand and help, and aids and favors them with his presence, leading them in the present dearth of food now generally being suffered in this camp, to a place where he can more suitably maintain them, in conformity with the opinions of the *maestre de campo* and the captains, until the fleet we are expecting arrives bringing supplies. Then, the people whom his Lordship may leave behind being provisioned and content, those who are to go inland may go provided with everything needed for such a long journey as that which they have before them, and thus they may more fully accomplish the royal purpose of the king our lord. And so, as has been said, we beseech, pray, require, and protest; and of you the present notary in the name of his Majesty, we ask that you give us a copy of what we have said, for the safeguard of our rights.

ALONSO VELÁZQUEZ RODRÍGUEZ.

ALONSO PÉREZ.

[*Rubrics*]

AGREEMENT TO GO DOWN TO THE BAHÍA FILIPINA

After the foregoing in the said town of Nanipacana on the twenty-second [*i.e.*, fourth] day of the month of June of the said year, when the illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor and captain-general for his Majesty in these provinces, had seen the opinions of the *maestre de campo*, the captains, and the other gentlemen of his council, and the demand made by the officials of the royal treasury, he decided to go down with the people and camp to the Bahía Filipina where they may be supported on shellfish, such as crawfishes and oysters, and fish, until such time as God our Lord may provide them with some relief in the way of supplies, so that he may therewith do that which will more amply satisfy the service of his Majesty. In compliance with this determination he ordered all the captains to have their people equipped

tanques que para dentro de dos dias tengan apercebida i presta su jente para baxar a la dhã baya felip^a y firmolo de su no^e.

DON TRYSTAN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

[*Rubricado*]

paso ante mi

MIN DE AGUIRRE

esn^o maior.

[*Rubricado*]

[86 a, 86 b, 87 a, 87 b y 88 a en blanco]

[88 b]

†

[*Endosado:*] La junta que tubo su s^a con El S^{or} m^e de canpo oficiales de su m^t y capitanes sobre la yda deste pueblo de ypacana

[*Hay una rubrica y un sello estampado sobre cera roja.*]

[89 a] [VELASCO A LUNA, MÉXICO, 2 DE JULIO DE 1560]

†

ylustre se^{or}

/despues descryptas las que lleba luys daça y estando en el puerto para partyr llego el capytan pero melendez al puerto cõ sola vna nao / que parece ã aRybo a calyz donde salyo en fyn de hebrero con el q^{de} de nyeba ã ba por byRey al peru y cõ la flota que ba en su cõpañya a tñra fyrmes byno en my plyego la ã ba con esta de su m^t creo es duplycada de otra que lleba luys daça /

escrybyme hernã Juarez my solycytador como ãjo las cosas de .V.S. en consejo y hablo sobre sus negocyos y la copya del capytulo [89 b] / de su cã ba con esta y las quel escrybe a .V. S. ã son dos plyegos y otro ã ba para el Señor Jorje çeron maese de canpo .V.S. se la mande dar y my besamanos y Recomendacyon y ã no le escrybo por la prysa conã Despacho esta porã alcance en el puerto los nabyos y asy no dyre mas de questoy y estare cõ grandysima pena hasta saver como le a ydo a .V.S. y a ese ejerçyto despues que bynyerõ los nabyos don luys my hyjo besa las manos de .V.S. y se halla byen el y don carlos questa bueno y Recyo y crece y se ocupa en todo buen ejerçyço y toda la jente mejycana ã .V.S. conoce [90 a] ãdan cõ salud avnã algunos

and ready in two days to go down to the said Bahía Filipina. And he signed it with his name.

Don TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

[*Rubric*]

Done before me,

MARTÍN DE AGUIRRE,

Chief notary.

[*Rubric*]

[86 r, 86 v, 87 r, 87 v, and 88 r, blank]

[88 v] †

[*Indorsed:*] The meeting which his Lordship held with the maestre de campo, the officials of his Majesty, and the captains, concerning the departure from this town of Nanipacana.

[*There is a rubric, and a seal stamped on red wax.*]

[89 r] [VELASCO TO LUNA, MEXICO, JULY 2, 1560]

†

Illustrious Sir:

After I had written the letters which Luis Daza is taking, and he was at the port ready to sail, Captain Pedro Menéndez arrived at the port with only one ship, which apparently had been driven back to Cadiz, whence he set sail at the end of February with the count of Nieva, who goes as viceroy to Peru. By the fleet which comes with him to Tierra Firme there came in my packet the letter from his Majesty which goes herewith. I believe it is a duplicate of one Luis Daza has.

My solicitor Hernán Juárez writes me how he left your affairs with the council, and he spoke of your business. The copy of the chapter [89 v] of his letter [thereto referring] goes herewith, and the one he writes to you. These are two packets, and there is another which goes to Jorge Cerón the maestre de campo. You will have it given to him with my compliments and commendation, and [tell him] I am not writing to him because of the haste with which I am sending this in order that it may reach the ships at the port. Hence I will say no more than that I have the keenest solicitude until I know how it has fared with you and that army since the coming of the ships. Don Luis my son kisses your hands; he is well, and so is Don Carlos, who is strong, robust, and growing, and busy in all good exercise. All the Mexican people you know [90 r] are well, although some of them are in jail because they do not pay

presos porq̃ no pagan ell alcance del fator y como en otra e
escryto por mal queste .V.S. en la floryda esta mejor quen mejyco
guarde y prospere nro Señor su ylustre persona de mejyco dos
de Julyo /

Serbydor de .V.S.

Don LUYs DE VE^{co}.

[*Rubricado*]

[90 b]

†

[*Dirección:*] Al Ill^e señor don tristan de luna y arellano gouer-
nador por su mg^d [*roto:* en] las proui^{as} de la florida

[*Hay un sello estampado sobre cera.*]

[*Endosado:*] Virrey 22 de Julio de 1560

[*Endosado:*] ij de Julio de lx

[91 a] [VELASCO A LUNA, MÉXICO, 20 DE AGOSTO DE 1560]

†

Ill^e Señor

/la que V.S. me escriuio con don carlos de çuñiga y con el padre
fray Joan de macuelos del pueblo de pacaña rresçiuy en fin de
jullio. tardaron tanto en el Viaje Porque el tiempo los echo en la
hauana donde se detuVieron quinze dias. Vi lo que V.S. Me escriue
de la enfermedad que a tenido y çierto lo he sentido en todo el
estremo que Se puede Sentir y No menos la neçesidad en que .V.S.
me escriue que quedaua el campo. loado nro Sr que dio Salud a
.V.S. para çufrir los trauajos y proueer a las neçesidades sospe-
chando la que podrian tener los que quedaron en el puerto prouey
los bastimentos que lleuo luis daça porque a .V.S. y a la mas gente
del campo que entrauan la tierra adentro entendi de lo que Se me
escriuio que no les auia de faltar comida porque sino Mienten los
que en es^a Tierr^a anduuieron con soto nunca les faltó. pareçe que
no se deue de auer llegado a la buena tierra adonde anduvo soto
donde los yndios Son Mas aSentados y de mas rrazon y poliçia
que esos de por ay y abundan de muchos bastimentos. que bien
creo que Para buscarlos y para todo lo demas que se a Vsado de
toda buena yndustria y diligencia / .

V^o de la Venida de don carlos Me peso y no menos de la de juan Jara-
millo porque con semexantes personas se a de sustentar esa tierra

the balances of their accounts with the factor, so, as I wrote you in another letter, however badly it may be going with you in La Florida, you are better off than if you were in Mexico. May our Lord guard and prosper your illustrious person. Mexico, July 2, [1560].

Your servant,

DON LUIS DE VELASCO.

[*Rubric*]

[90 v]

†

[*Addressed:*] To the illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor for his Majesty [*torn: in*] the provinces of La Florida.

[*There is a seal stamped on wax.*]

[*Indorsed:*] Viceroy. July 22, 1560.

[*Indorsed:*] July 2, 1560.

[91 r] [VELASCO TO LUNA, MEXICO, AUGUST 20, 1560⁶⁴]

†

Illustrious Sir:

The letter you wrote me by Don Carlos de Zúñiga and Father Fray Juan de Mazuelos from the town of Nanipacana I received at the end of July. They were delayed so long on their voyage because the weather drove them into La Havana, where they were detained two weeks. I saw what you wrote me about the illness you have had; I certainly have felt as sorry for this as one could, and no less sorry for the want which you write me the whole camp was suffering. Our Lord be praised Who gave you health to endure those troubles and provide your necessities. Anticipating that those who were left at the port would have these difficulties I provided the supplies which Luis Daza took; but I thought from what you wrote that you and the other people of the camp who went inland would not be likely to lack food; for unless those who were in that country with Soto lied, they never suffered want. But it seems that you have not reached the good country where Soto was and where the Indians are more sedentary and have greater intelligence and better government than those about you, besides possessing abundant supplies. I well believe that you used all due industry and diligence in searching for them and in everything else.

I am sorry for the return of Don Carlos, and no less for that of Juan Xaramillo, for they are of the kind of people by whom

y porque adelante tocare en esto Mas en particular pasare a lo que se a proueydo. luis daça se hizo a la vela con quatro nauios que fueron el galeon san juan y la nao francesa y vn patax y el vergantin Nuevo a los Veinte y tres de junio, y no pudo partir antes Porque quedo la vera t y puerto asolado de mantenimi^{os} Por lo mucho que lleVo la flota que fue a spaña que fueron diez Nauios y tambien oVo harto que hazer En proueer otras cosas. pareçe que tardo mas de lo que aca pensamos en llegar a ese puerto porque la Vltima cña de .V.S. es hecha en diez y nueue de jullio y hera tiempo de Ser llegados. dios mediante no pudieron tardar quatro o çinco dias despues q̃ p̃tio xaram^o [91 b] y con su llegada Se tendria algun aliuyo y rrefresco/.

V Visto que .V.S. se determino de baxar de ypacana al puerto conpelido de la neçesidad y que la gente rrehuso la entrada de la tierra adentro me parecio despachar el vergantin con auiso de como llegaron el y la barca y para que .V.S. le tenga de lo que aca pareçe y se proueera y enbio a Joan de busto Para que Visite de mi parte a .V.S. y a todos los capitanes y caualleros y gente principal de ese campo y para que .V.S. me auise el estado en que estan los negoçios y de lo que conuiene proueer, que çierto los trauajos de todos y de cada Vno siento y para el rremedio dello proueo lo que al presente a pareçido ser neçesario y Esta mas a mano, que es despachar Vn Nauio con la breuedad posible cargado de bastim^{os} que a lo menos lleuara V hanegas de mayz y Vizcocho y carne y los demas rrefrescos que se pudiere enbiar para que no aya falta de comida en el campo, este nauio Se adereçaua para enbiarle a campeche para en que fuese bracamonte y Otros hidalgos y buenos Soldados a esa tierra en busca de .V. S. a Seruir a su m^t. y visto la neçesidad que ay de proueer de bastimentos a ese campo acorde que çesase al presente la enbiada del nauio a canpeche y enbiarle a ese puerto de Polonça cargado de bastim^{os}, E asimesmo he mandado adreçar la barca en que Vino don carlos para que lo mas breue que posible Sea Se cargue de mayz y se uaya a ese puerto, y pues plaz^{do} a n^{ro} S^r ya El campo se abra rrefrescado y rreparado con lo que luis daça lleuo en los quatro Nauios, con esto que agora Se despacha abra medianamente de comer y adelante mandare Proueer todo lo que de aca Se puðiere proueer y enbiar para que no aya Otra falta Semejante de bastim^{os} y pues no es cosa nueva

that land is to be maintained, but as I shall speak of this in more detail later, I shall proceed to [tell you] what has been ordered. Luis Daza set sail on June 23 with four ships, the galleon *San Juan*, the French vessel, a tender, and the new brigantine. He could not leave sooner because La Vera Cruz and the port were left bare of provisions on account of the quantity of them taken by the fleet which went to Spain. There were ten ships that went, and there was also a great deal to do in providing other things. It seems that [Daza's ships] were longer than we expected in reaching your port, for your last letter is dated July 19, by which time they should have arrived. God willing, they should not have been longer in arriving than four or five days after Xaramillo [91 v] left, and with their arrival you will have some relief and refreshment.

In view of the fact that you decided to go down from Nani-pacana to the port, impelled by necessity and because the people refused to go inland, it seemed wise to me to send the brigantine with news of how he [*i.e.*, Xaramillo] arrived, and the bark, so that you might know what is here contemplated. I [decided also] to arrange to send Juan de Busto to visit you and all the captains, gentlemen, and principal persons of that camp, and to give you opportunity to advise me of the state of affairs and of what it is necessary to provide. I certainly feel very sorry for the troubles of each and all; for their remedy I am providing what has at present seemed necessary and is nearest at hand. This was to send a ship as soon as possible laden with supplies; it will take at least one thousand *fanegas*⁶⁵ of corn, biscuit, meat, and other viands which can be sent, so that there may be no lack of food in the camp. This ship was being prepared to go to Campeche so that Bracamonte and other hidalgos and good soldiers might go in it to that land in search of you to serve his Majesty; but seeing the need there is to provide your camp with food, I decided to defer for the present sending the ship to Campeche and send it to that port of Polonza laden with supplies. I have also ordered the bark in which Don Carlos returned to be fitted out so that it may as shortly as possible be laden with corn and go to that port. Thus if it please our Lord the camp will have been refreshed and restored with what Luis Daza took in the four ships, and with the one now being sent there will be a moderate supply of food; later I will order everything that can be provided and sent, so that there may not be a similar dearth of provisions again. Inasmuch

en los exercitos, ofrecerse Neçesidades de bastim^os y desgraçias y desbaratos No nos Emos de marauillar que aya suçedido algo a ese campo y no se a de desmayar por eso que no se a de alcançar el efeto que se desea con el ayuda de n^{ro} S^r. conque su diuina mag^t se sirua mucho y lo mesmo el rrey n^{ro} S^{or} y .V.S. y todos esos capitanes y caualleros y hijosdalgos y bu^os soldados y onrrados ganen mucha honrra haziendo lo que son obligados a fieles y buenos Soldados de mas de los aprouecham^os que plaziendo a n^{ro} Señor abra adelante que tras los tiempos asperos y contrarios suelen benir los bonañçibles y prosperos y [92 a] fauorables y asi espero en n^{ro} S^r. que suçedera a ese canpo aVn que el demonio estorue en quanto el pudiere que no aya Efeto de plantar n^{ra} Santa fee catolica en esa tierra de la florida que n^{ro} S^r. a de ser seruido de apiadarse de esos pobres miserables baruaros y de ese campo que por Seruirle pasa tantos trauajos que .V.S. no fue a esa tierra con la esperança de lo que auia De lo de miruelo aca sino por lo que es coça y las demas prouinçias que ay en su comarca y santa elena y mas adelante quel desenbarcar desta parte de la canal de bahama aca no fue sino para que desde alli caminase el campo en busca de coça y s^{ta} Elena por tierra dexando en el puerto que desenbarcasen, o en el que Mas conuiniese para este efeto Vn capitan con la gente que pareçiese Ser neçes^a en Vn pueblo que se poblase para ello para que desta Manera pudiese ese canpo ser socorrido E ayudado de lo que se le ofreçiese Neçesidad de ser Socorrido desta NueVa españa, y de la hauana por la trauajosa y peligrosa nauegaçion que es Por la canal De bahama y pues estamos çiertos q̃ lo de coça y co [hay un claro] y señora y otras muchas prouinçias que ay por alla son buena tierra fertil de bastimentos y ay gente y perlas y otras cosas buenas y la gente es de mas poliçia Ser y rrazon que esos barbaros de ay y que muy çerca de lo de santa elena bienen los françeses los mas de los años y conpran de los yndios Oro y perlas y martas y otras cosas no se çufre dezir que No es tierra para poblarla y que No ha de auer aproVecham^os En ella siendo la tierra y gente de la calidad que esta dicho quanto mas que tenemos espiriençia que los mismos Españoles desque comiençan a entender las tierras nueVas que pueblan con Su yndustria y trauajo las hazen que sean rricas y enriqueçen asi-memos y Soto tuVo Notiçia que no lexos de lo de coça auia cobre

as it is not a new thing with armies that there should occur shortage of provisions, misfortunes, and failures, we need not marvel that such a thing has happened to that camp, nor need we despair because of it of achieving through the help of our Lord the desired end by which his divine Majesty will be greatly served as also will the king our lord; and you and all those captains and gentlemen, hidalgos, and good and honorable soldiers, will gain great honor by doing what good and faithful soldiers ought, besides the benefits which, our Lord willing, will accrue later on; for after rough and adverse weather usually come the mild and favoring [92 r] winds. This is what I trust in our Lord will happen to that camp, for although the devil may prevent as best he may that the planting of our holy Catholic faith in that land of La Florida should have effect, our Lord will be pleased to take pity on those poor, wretched barbarians, and on that camp which in order to serve Him is undergoing so much hardship. For you did not go to that land in the expectation of [obtaining control] of what lies between the Miruelo country and here, but for the sake of Coosa, the other provinces in that part, and Santa Elena and beyond there; and your disembarking on this side of the Bahama Channel was for no other purpose than to lead the camp overland in search of Coosa and Santa Elena, leaving at the port at which you disembarked or in some other more convenient for that purpose a captain with the necessary people to settle a town whereby that camp might be succored and helped with whatever it might have need of from this New Spain and from La Havana, the navigation by way of the Bahama Channel being too difficult and dangerous. And since we are sure that Coosa, Co⁶⁶ [*blank space in original*], Sonora, and many other provinces in that part, have good fertile soil for [raising] foods, that there are people, pearls, and other good things, that the people are higher in organization, manner of life, and intelligence than those barbarians in your part, and that the French⁶⁷ come quite near to Santa Elena nearly every year to buy from the Indians gold, pearls, marten-skins, and other things, it must not be said that it is not a suitable country to colonize or that no benefit is to be derived from it because the character of the land and the people is what it is; this is all the more true because we know from experience that the Spaniards themselves have begun to learn that the new lands which they settle will, through industry and labor, make them increasingly richer. Soto learned that not far from Coosa there was copper; he sent

y enbio alla dos españoles y hallaron Ser Verdad y tambien tuVo notiçia que al norte de [*hay un claro*] auia mucha gente y oro y siendo la tierra que se da en ella todo quanto Se da en españa aSe de tener muy gran confiança que a de ser la tierra para mucho prouecho de los españoles, y pues que de lo del cobre dixeron verdad tambien la diran en lo del oro quanto mas que Spañoles ay que dizen auer Visto y rrescatado oro en las partes que esta dicho, y es de creer que tambien abra Otros metales de plata, y pues .V.S. abra Visto lo que Su m^t le enbia a mandar y le escriue que pueble [*92 b*] hazia lo de santa elena y se halle en esa tierra por donde podra entrar a lo de coça y a santa elena por ninguna Via conuiene desmanparar esa tierra ni despoblarla sino estribar en ella y desde ay entrar a lo de coça y pues el sargento mayor a entrado alla y abra abierto camino por donde podra entrar si el fuere buelto para la primaVera Sera bien y conuiene que .V.S. con todo el campo, o la mayor parte del entre en busca de coça o a la parte que mas aparejo y comodidad ouiere para lo de Santa elena dexando En ese puerto Vn capitan con los Soldados que bastaren Para hazer rrostro a los yndios que ouiere en esa comarca que para quando pasare el ynVierno, dende la hauana Se proueeera a .V.S. de caualllos y de acopio ueere yo de lo que fuere neçes^o para el mismo Efeto y Si caso fuere que el Sargento Mayor no fuere buelto E ynuernare alla .V.S. en persona con los demas capitanes conuiene que entre en busca del dexando como he dicho Vn capitan en el puerto con la gente Neçes^a, que de arcabuzes y polu^a buen rrecado lleuo luy daça para este efeto y dineros para comprar caualllos en la hauana, mucho olgaria de que el Sargento mayor ynVernase alla y .V.S. le ouiese enbiado la gente de cauallo y peones ñ Me escriue por la suya porque estuViesen mas seguros hasta que .V.S. llegase con el rresto del campo, y çierto para Efeto de que en ese Puerto ouiese el rrecado que conuiene es Menester dexar Vna persona tal, y tal hera Juan xaramillo pues a .V.S. le consta quan buen soldado es y quan buena quenta a dado de si, Si estuViere con salud Para boluer alla le tornare a enbiar porque Semejantes Personas Son las que Son Menester en esa tierra y que a los tales y, Otros Semejantes les enbie .V.S. de su lado y de esa

two Spaniards thither, and they learned that it was true. He also learned that north of [*blank space in original*] there were many people and gold, and the land is such that it produces everything that grows in Spain. Great confidence must be felt that that land ought to be of great utility to the Spaniards. Just as they [were found to have] told the truth about the copper, so they will about the gold, particularly since there are Spaniards who say they have seen it and bartered for it in the places mentioned. It is also to be imagined that there must be other minerals, such as silver. Therefore, inasmuch as you have seen that his Majesty sends to order you and writes to you to colonize [92 v] in the direction of Santa Elena, and since you are in that land, whence you can enter Coosa and Santa Elena, it would by no means be proper to abandon that land or leave it unpopulated; on the other hand you ought to establish your hold upon it and thence enter Coosa. It being true that the sargento mayor has entered there and has opened a road by which entry may be made, it would be well and proper, if he has returned by spring, for you and the whole camp or the greater part of it, to go inland in search of Coosa or of the territory toward Santa Elena, whichever offers the best facilities, leaving at your port a captain with enough soldiers to face whatever Indians are in that district. After the winter passes, you will be provided from La Havana with horses and supplies. I will look out for what is necessary for this purpose. In case the sargento mayor shall not have returned, but winters there, you in person with the other captains ought to go in search of him, leaving as I have said one captain at the port with the people necessary. Luis Daza took a bountiful supply of arquebuses and powder for this enterprise, and money to buy horses in La Havana. I should be very much gratified if the sargento mayor should winter there, and if you have perhaps sent forward the horsemen and foot-soldiers of which you write me in your letter, that they may be more secure until you arrive with the rest of the camp. It is certainly true that in order to maintain the necessary precautions in that port it is wise to leave a cautious person there. Such a man is Juan Xaramillo, for you are well aware what a good soldier he is and what a fine account he has given of himself. If he recovers sufficiently to go back there I will send him again, for such persons are the ones who are needed in that country, and I am very sorry that you sent such a man and others like him away from your side and out of the country;

tierra Siento Mucho pesandome dello, pues son las personas que an de hazer rrostro en los peligros y trauajos q̃ Se ofreçieren y con los tales se an de animar los que no tienen spiriençia para hazer lo que deVen que de los casados que Vienen con sus mugeres E hijos no me pesa pues en esa comarca ay tan poco rremedio para auer bastimentos y no an de aprouechar al presente para mas de comer lo que de aca se enbiare y alla se buscare que temiendo que auian de ser causa de poner En neçesidad el campo dixẽ muchas vezes a .V.S. que no curase de llevar tantos casados con sus mugeres E hijos, y pues la espiriençia a mostrado que al presente los tales Son de poco Efeto para lo que es neçes^o esta bien que ayan Venido los que an Venido pero si alla pareçiere que [93 a] los que quedan Seran Menester y neçesarios quedense mucho en buen ora que a los que .V.S. dexare en el puerto desde aca les proueeremos Para que coman y lo demas que fuere neçes^o plazera a ñro S^r que en breVe tendra .V.S. buena tierra adonde gran los casados con sus mugeres E hijos para que con su buen exemplo En la conVersion de los Naturales, ayuden E aprouechen. Por ninguna Via conViene que .V.S. de liçençia a ningun capitan Ni soldado para que se Salga de esa tierra Speçialmente a semejantes como don xp̃oual y Ju^o xaramillo que de aca y de la haVana Se proueeera de todo lo Neçes^o y que se pueda proueer Para proseguir lo començado y alcançar el Efeto para que Se comenco. Este ynVierno Se deVe poner gran diligencia para rreparar los Soldados que esten bien abrigados y alojados y luego me auise .V.S. con juan de busto lo que es neçes^o que Se prouea de aca para que con toda diligencia se enbie todo lo que se pudiere enbiar, ternia por cosa açertada que estuViese el campo rrepartido en los dos puertos para que Se pudiesen Mejor Sustentar, .V.S. abra proueydo lo que mas conuerua y esto se entiende hasta en tanto que entre el Verano porque como esta dicho basta que el Vn puerto qual mas conViniere quede poblado solamente y de .V.S. la buelta de coça. y si pareçiese alla que conVernia Mas que el campo caminase diuydido por dos partes tendria el mesmo pareçer para que los Soldados pasasen menos neçesidad y los yndios rresçiuiesen Menos Vejaçion. caminar por tierr^a dende esos puertos a coça no se les deue hazer muy graue a los Soldados españoles que en otras partes de yndias, tenemos entendido que an caminado los spañoles çient leguas por tierra y por despoblados y sin lleVar ni vn cauallo solo

I regret it because they are the persons who keep up a good front amid the dangers and troubles which occur. By such men those are to be animated who do not have the experience to do what they ought. I am not at all grieved at the return of the married men with their wives and children, for in that section there is very little assurance of having provisions, and they are not likely to be profitable at present, for they only eat up what is sent from here or found there, so that it is to be feared that they might be the cause of bringing the camp to want. I told you many times not to try to take so many married men with their wives and children, and since experience has shown that for the time being such people are of little use for what is needed, it is just as well that those who have done so have returned. But if it seems there [93 r] that those who remain will be wanted and needed let them stay by all means. All whom you leave at the port we will provide from here with enough to eat and whatever else may be necessary. It may be that our Lord will shortly be pleased to let you have a goodly land to which the married men with their wives and children may go, so that by their good example they may aid and be of utility in the conversion of the natives. By no means should you grant leave to any captain or soldier to leave that country, especially to such as Don Cristóbal and Juan Xaramillo, for everything necessary which can be furnished will be provided from here and from La Havana in order to follow up what has been begun and achieve the purpose for which it was commenced. This winter you ought to take great pains to see that the soldiers are well clothed and lodged, and then advise me by Juan de Busto what it is necessary to provide from here, so that you may be sent with all diligence all that can be sent. I should think it wise to divide the camp between the two ports so that [the people] might the better sustain themselves; you will have ordered what was most fitting. This is understood to apply until summer comes and you return from Coosa, for as has been said, it is enough that only one port, whichever is best, be settled. If it seems better to you there that the camp should travel divided into two parties I would be agreeable to that decision, so that the soldiers might suffer less want and the Indians receive less vexation. It ought not to be very hard for Spanish soldiers to march overland from those ports to Coosa, for as we have learned, Spaniards have traveled a hundred leagues by land in other parts of the Indies through deserts without taking a single horse and carrying only what each man could.

con No llevar mas de lo que cada Vno podia llevar quanto mas que .V.S. Podra llevar buena cantidad de caualllos que podra meter de la hauana de Mas de los que .V.S. tuuiere y avn que la tierra no es muy poblada. todauia Es poblada E ay bastimentos E dado caso que se an de ofreçer trauajos en ellos Muestran los buenos soldados su Valor asi de animo como de yndustria por donde Suelen Ser estimados y tenidos y honrrados/.

V Plaziendo a nro S^{or} Poblado .V.S. en coça, o en la parte que mas comodidad ouiere para ello y Sabidos los puertos de santa Elena y de aquella costa Se poblara esa tierra de toda la gente que fuere me [93 b] Nester desde esPaña y aca y Para efeto de Sauer los puertos El Verano que Viene despachare dende aca Vn par de nauios para que Vayan a lo de Santa Elena y hasta los quarenta grados por aquella costa para que tenido noticia de los puertos que ay Sea .V.S. auisado dello y aca le tengamos y hagamos rrelaçion a Su m^t para que mande despachar buena copia de gente con todo lo Neçes^o para poblar Esa tierra y enbie entre los que Vinieren buena copia de labradores para cultiuar la tierra y si pareçiere que Por la parte de santa Elena ay Mejor aparejo Para Poder meter caualllos y ganados desde la hauana como .V.S. auise de Ello Se proueera para que desde alla enbien todo lo que se pudiere llevar E sino se hallare buen aparejo para ello en lo de santa Elena y conuiniera que Por esta parte de aca Se metan ganados E caualllos hazerse a asi y tambien desque plaziendo a nro señor estuViere el campo en lo de coça, Si desde alli se pudiere tener modo para enbiar a Sauer que tierra Es la punta que sale desde la florida enfrente de la hauana Seria cosa ynportante abrir aquel camino para que Siendo dende la hauana andadero Se pasasen a aquella punta cantidad de ganados y caualllos, pues es poca la trauesia que ay y para este Efeto El primer Vergantin o barca que .V.S. enbiare a la hauana Sera bien que Vaya por aquella costa de la florida Para que descubra los puertos que ay dende el Puerto de juan ponçe hasta la baya de juan paz que esta en el rremate de la punta de la florida, y pues a su m^t ynporta mucho que la tierra de Santa Elena y la demas de la florida Se pueble y a todos esos capitanes y caualleros y buenos Soldados les Va la honrra E ynteres y a .V.S. mas que a ning^o, conuiene que con aquella fidelidad, E animos conque los spañoles Suelen poner rrosto a los trauajos y afruentas [sic] hagan su deuer todos y pues .V.S. tiene alla capitanes y otras personas tales que no sola-

But you could take a good number of horses which you could import from La Havana in addition to those you may have and although the country is not very densely peopled yet it has some population and there is food. Even in case troubles do occur, good soldiers in difficulties show their valor by both the spirit and industry which habitually cause them to be held in esteem and honored.

If it please our Lord, after you have settled in Coosa or in the place which offers best facilities for the purpose, and after the ports of Santa Elena and along that coast are known, that country will be colonized by all the people who are needed [93 v] both from Spain and from here. Hence in order to become acquainted with those ports I will send two ships next summer to Santa Elena and up to the fortieth degree along that coast, so that when information as to what ports there are has been obtained you may be advised of it; we will also have it here and will give an account of it to his Majesty so that he may order a goodly number of people sent out with everything necessary to settle that country. He [will be asked] to send among those who come a goodly number of farmers to cultivate the land. If it appears that conditions are better in the region of Santa Elena for introducing horses and cattle from La Havana, it will be ordered done as you advise, so that all that can be taken may be sent from there. If you do not find suitable conditions near Santa Elena, and if it would be better to introduce the cattle and horses into the part nearest here, it shall be done. Also our Lord willing, when the camp is in the land of Coosa, if any way could be found to send to discover what point of land projects from La Florida toward La Havana, it would be an important thing to open that road, for if it is passable a number of cattle and horses might be taken to that point, for the distance to cross is short. For this purpose it would be well for the first brigantine or bark which you send to La Havana to go along that coast of La Florida to discover the ports which lie between that of Juan Ponce⁶⁸ and the Bay of Juan Paz⁶⁹ which is at the end of the point of La Florida. And now, since it is very important to his Majesty that the land of Santa Elena and the rest of La Florida be peopled, and that to all those captains, gentlemen, good soldiers, and you more than anyone, go the honor and profit, it is desirable that you all do your duty with that fidelity and courage with which Spaniards always set resolute face toward troubles and dangers. Since you have there captains and other

mente les sobra animo pero tienen buen parecer y consejo, comuniq̃se con los tales el modo que Se tendra en la entrada de coça poniendo çilençio En pensar de despoblar la tierra porque esto es lo que conviene al Serui^o de dios y del rrey n^{ro} Señor y a la onrra de todos los que estan en ese campo, que de mi Parte proueere de la hazienda de Su m^t de todo lo que pareçiere Ser neçes^o y pudiere proueer y puesto caso que todos los Soldados que estan en ese campo No estan eXperimentados en las cosas de la guerra y Suçesos trauajosos della, con la spirienciã [94 a.] Se hazen los hombres diestros y pues de ay saldrã esperimentados de creer es que no les ha de faltar animo como a spañoles que de los Soldados Visoños se hazen los soldados Viejos tan platicos E animosos como Suelen ser, el buen tratamiento de los quales Encomiendo a .V.S. que pues al presente se halla con posibilidad Para gratificarles Sus trauajos y Seruiçios a lo menos en todo lo que pudiere asy En obras como en palabras les fauorezca y honrrre ./.

V En los Nauios que mandare despachar Para el Verano enbiare Vn françes que a uenido por algunas Vezes al rrescate del oro y martas y perlas que rrescatan los françeses Mas al norte de lo de Santa elena para que rreconozca la tierra y puerto donde se haze esta contrat^{on} al qual spero de dia en dia que Viene en Vna barca que a de Venir dende canpeche, algunos sus compañeros an llegado a esta çiudad, que Vinieron en otra barca, el françes que he dicho esto es yngles, y esta casado en françia, si viniere a tiempo podra ser que Vaya en el Vergantin con juan de busto Para que haga a .V.S. rrelaçion de lo que ha Visto pero conuiene que vaya en los Nauios que fueren Por la de santa Elena y aquella costa porque Por tierra No rreconoçera Nada y por mar aprouechara mucho /.

V con luis daça creo escriui a .V.S. como auia escrito a su m^t con el q^{dor} hortuño de ybarra que fue por general de la flota que partio a los ocho de abril deste año el estado en que quedauan los neg^{os} de esa tierra y enbie las que .V.S. escriuió a su m^d. En que le daua auiso como auia tomado ese puerto y del daño que la fortuna hizo en los nauios y bastimentos yo escriuy como le Seria forçado entrarlos a buscar la tierra adentro y que Se temia que Se pasaria trauajo hasta hallarlos que .V.S. trauajaria por Sustentar la

such persons who not only have courage to spare but also can offer good opinions and counsel, tell such persons what the plans are whereby the entry into Coosa will be made, and impose silence on the thought of deserting the country, for this is necessary for the service of God and of the king our lord and for the honor of all who are in that camp. On my part, I will provide from his Majesty's treasury everything that may be necessary and can be provided. And even though all the soldiers who are in that camp are not experienced in the affairs of war and its toilsome incidents, nevertheless it is by experience [94 r] that men are made expert, and since they will go forth from there with ample experience it is to be believed that they will not, being Spaniards, lack the courage which makes of raw recruits the expert and spirited veterans Spanish soldiers are wont to become. I recommend to your Lordship that, since at present it is [not?] found possible to reward them for their work and services, at least so far as may be, both by deed and word, you favor and honor them.

On the ships which I shall order sent next spring I shall send a Frenchman who has been there several times to trade for gold, marten-skins, and pearls, for which the French trade in the country northward from Santa Elena. He is to reconnoiter the country and the port where this business is carried on. I am expecting him from day to day to come in a bark from Campeche. Some of his companions who came in another bark have reached this city. The man whom I called a Frenchman is an Englishman, but is married in France. If he should come in time, it may be that he will go in the brigantine with Juan de Busto to give you an account of what he has seen. But it would be better for him to go with the ships which are to go toward Santa Elena and along that coast, for if he goes by land he will do no reconnoitering, but if by sea he will be of much benefit.

I think I wrote you by Luis Daza saying I had written by the accountant Hortuño de Ibarra, who went as general of the fleet which set sail on April 8 of this year, to his Majesty telling him the state of affairs of that country. I also sent the letters you wrote to his Majesty in which you informed him how you had taken that port and how misfortune had damaged the ships and supplies. I wrote to him that you would be forced to go inland to search for supplies, and that it was to be feared that you would undergo hardships before finding them, but that you would exert

gente en el puerto y en otra parte, o, otras dos hasta tanto que su m^t. mandase proueer de mas gente armas y Caualllos y bastim^os para que la tierra Se pudiese calar y Paçificar y Poblar en la punta de Santa elena que es lo que su m^t. Prinçipalmente pretende como lo abra entendido .V.S. p[or] sus cartas a las quales rrespondera .V.S. segun la posibilidad y salud conque se halla sino a rrespondido quando rresçiua esta

[94 b] V Sospecha E yndiçios ay ã los françeses ã estan poblados en los bacallaos que no es muy lexos de la punta de Santa elena Pretenden Venir a tomar el puerto, O puertos que alli ouie y Poblarlos para ynpidir el paso de la canal de bahama que lo podran hazer façilmente si hallan puerto y No le auiendo estara segura la canal teniendo su m^t fortificada la hauana y ese puerto porque los demas que ay en esa costa creo no son para parar en ellos muchos dias Nauios y para Sauer si ay Puerto en la punta de Santa elena, O çient leguas la costa adelante tenemos acordado el Señor pero melendez de Valdes que esta aqui y a de yr por general de la flota que Partira Para españa dios mediante por henero que vayan en su compaña dos nauios Sutiles y que de la hauana Se partan a buscar los Puertos, o bayas que ouiere en la punta de Santa Elena o çien leguas la costa adelante y que hallandose o no el Vno baya a españa a dar notiçia a su mag^d de lo que Se hallare y el Otro buelua a la hauana por entre los lucayos y de alli le den a .V.S. y a mi aqui para que auiendo puerto Se vaya a tomar y poblar por mar y por tierra como esta tratado Encaminelo nño S^r como mas Se Sirua y guarde y prospere la Ill^e Persona de .V.S. /. en mexico 20 de ag^{to}. 1560

Serbydor de .V.S.

Don LUYs DE VE^{co}.

[*Rubricado*]

[VELASCO A LUNA, MÉXICO, 3 DE SEPTIEMBRE DE 1560]

V despues de Spta esta hasta la hecha lleguo Ju^o xaramillo a esta çudad y Vista la informacion ã truxo y la rrelacion ã hizo de palabra / hize juntar el audiençia y plados y provinçiales y padres [95 a] y /off^es de su mg^t y caualleros de hedad y expiri-



yourself to maintain the people at the port and at another place or two others, until his Majesty might order more people, arms, horses, and food provided, so that the country could be penetrated and pacified and settled at the Punta de Santa Elena. For this is what his Majesty chiefly desires as you will have learned from his letters, to which you will reply as your opportunity and health permit, unless you have already done so before receiving this.

[94 v] There are suspicions and some indications that the French who have settled at Los Bacallaos, which is not very far from the Punta de Santa Elena, are trying to come and take the port or ports which may be there, and settle them so as to impede the passage of the Bahama Channel. They will be able to do this easily if they find a port. If there is none the Channel will be secure if his Majesty has La Havana and your port fortified; the other ports along that coast I do not believe will serve for ships to stay in for many days. For the purpose of finding out whether there is a port at the Punta de Santa Elena or within a hundred leagues of coast from there on, we have decided that Pedro Menéndez de Valdes,⁷⁰ who is here and is to go as general of the fleet which will sail for Spain in January, God willing, shall take with him two light vessels; these are to sail from La Havana to search for the ports or bays which may exist at the Punta de Santa Elena or up the coast a hundred leagues. Whether they find one or not, one ship is to go to Spain to inform his Majesty of what has been found, and the other is to return to La Havana by sailing through the Lucayos, thence to inform you, and me here, so that if there is a port, expeditions by land and sea to take it and settle it shall be sent as has been planned. May our Lord direct it so as to serve Him best, and guard and prosper your illustrious person. Mexico, August 20, 1560.

Your servant,

DON LUIS DE VELASCO.

[*Rubric*]

[VELASCO TO LUNA, MEXICO, SEPTEMBER 3, 1560]

After I had written the foregoing Juan Xaramillo arrived in this city. When I had seen the report he brought and [had heard] the account by word of mouth which he told, I called together the audiencia, prelates, provincials, fathers, [95 r] officials of his Majesty, and gentlemen of age and experience who were here, and

ençia que aqui se hallaron y fueron los Contenidos en vna mem^a q̃ bera con esta y en presençia de todos se Vio la ynformaçion q̃ traxo juan xaramillo. y se oyo la rrelaçion q̃ hizo y platicados los ynconvinientes que el negoçio tiene a todos paresçio q̃ esa t̃rra no se deue desamparar hasta que ynformado su mg^t. de lo suçedido y de lo q̃ della se entiende y entendido q̃ tr̃ra an topado El Sargento mayor y capitanes q̃ .V.S. embio la buelta de la provinçia de coça su mg^t provea y mande lo q̃ fuere servido. Sobre sy se sustentara la t̃rra y puertos / o se dexara. y q̃ en el entretanto de aqui y de la havana y de yucatan se provea de bastimētos y rropa ganados y lo q̃ mas sea neçessa^o lo mejor que ser pueda como se hara / asy señor / que esto es lo que a todos aca paresçe / y a su mg^t. demas del aviso que se le ha dado se le dara con el general p^o menendez de todo lo suçedido en particular y de lo q̃ ConViene q̃ Con breuedad mande proveer y yo no faltare en lo que de [de: sic] aqui se podra proveer / visto q̃l Vergantin en q̃ vino Ju^o xaramillo es navio muy pequeño y no puede lleuar mas bastimento de lo neçesario p̃ã los marineros acorde que no fuese y tambiẽ por el rriesgo de la mar y que en el despacho de la caravela se diese priesa y asi va y lleua el bastimēto rropa camisas y calçado que de presto se ha podido juntar en desCargando provea .V.S. como de la buelta asy por q̃ venga a t̃po q̃ pueda lleuar cartas de .V.S. p^a su mg^t. y rrelaçion de lo suçedido el general p^o menendez q̃ partira por henero como porq̃ la caraVela pueda hazer otro Viaje con matenimy^{os} en Comp̃ de la flota que ha de yr a españa y âtes sy ser pudiere / millan ortiz a determinado de yr en la CaraVela a Ver a .V.S. y serVirle hazelo como hombre de bien y fiel criado / durante su avsença Se mirara por su muger y hijos y se les ayudara con algun entretenimi^o / don carlos esta bueno y creçe en toda virtud y çierto no ay en la nueva Spaña /tal moço hazele buena compaõia don luys mi hijo y .V.S. puede perder cuydado del en tanto que estuViere en mi compaõia q̃ sera el t̃po q̃ .V.S. mandare / la seõora doña Ju^a esta buena y el seõor don luys y la seõora dona Ju^a tienen el cuydado q̃s rrazon. yo no le perdere / çierrase a tres de Septr^e en mex^{co} /.

serbydor de .V.S.

Don LUYs DE VE^{co}.

[Rubricado]

they joined in a memorial which you will find herewith. In the presence of them all the report which Juan Xaramillo brought was read and the account which he told was heard. After the difficulties which the business presents had been discussed, it seemed to everyone that that country should not be abandoned until his Majesty can be informed of what has happened, what is known about the country, and what kind of territory was found by the sargento mayor and the captains whom you sent on the expedition to the province of Coosa; after that, his Majesty may provide and order as he sees fit as to whether the country and the ports shall be maintained or abandoned. In the meantime [it was agreed] that food, clothing, cattle, and whatever else seems most necessary shall be provided from here, La Havana, and Yucatan in the best manner possible, as will be done. And so, sir, this is how it appears to everyone here. Besides the report which has already been made to his Majesty, everything that has happened will be reported to him in detail by General Pedro Menéndez, with information as to what ought to be done, so that he may promptly order it; and I will not fail in providing whatever may be furnished here. In view of the fact that the brigantine in which Juan Xaramillo came is a very small ship and can carry no more food than is needed for the sailors, and also in view of the sea hazard for it, I decided that it should not go, but that haste should be made in dispatching the caravel. So it is going; it takes the food, clothing, shirts, and shoes which it has been possible to collect hastily. When it is unladen please have it sent back so that it may come in time for General Pedro Menéndez to carry letters from you to his Majesty and an account of what has happened. He will leave about January, or earlier, if possible; therefore the caravel can make another voyage with supplies in company with the fleet which is to go to Spain. Millán Ortíz has decided to go in the caravel to see you and serve you. He does this as an honest man and a faithful servant. During his absence his wife and children will be taken care of and aided with some pension. Don Carlos is well and grows in every virtue. There surely is not such another boy in all New Spain. Don Luis, my son, keeps him good company, and you need not worry about him as long as he is with me, which will be as long as you desire. Doña Juana is well. Don Luis and Doña Juana have the proper care. I will not neglect her. Sealed September 3 [1560], Mexico.

Your servant,

DON LUIS DE VELASCO.

[*Rubric*]

[95 b]

†

[*Direccion:*] Al Ill^e señor don tristan de luna y arellano gouernador [*roto:* y capitan] general de las pro[*roto:* vincias] de la florida

Virrey [*Hay un sello estampado sobre cera.*]

†

[*Endosado:*] Virrey Rda En 6 de nobienbre de 1560 a^{os}.

[*Endosado:*] R^{da}

[*Endosado:*] ij de ag^o [*sic*] de lx

[96 a] [DOCUMENTOS DEL PROCESO ENTRE LUNA
Y SUS SEQUACES]

†

2^a//

MANDA AL ESCRIBANO Ñ LE DE UN TRESLADO DE VN PROÇESSO

Yo don tristan de luna y arellano gouernador y capitan general de las prouinçias de la florida y punta de santa Elena Et. por su m^{ag}. mando A uos El presente Escriuano que me deis Vn treslado autorizado En manera que haga fee del P^oCeso oreginal qsta en Vño poder de los autos y cosas que pasaron entre my y los capitanes que En este canpo estauan, sobre el mandarles Entrar la tñra Adentro para ñ Conste a su m^{ag} o a los señores de la audiençia Real ñ reside En la nueba españa

Don TRISTAN.

Dale V E yo Juan de bargas Escriuano miõr destas prouinçias de la florida nombrado por el Ill^e señor don tristan de luna y harellano gouernador y capitan g^{al} dellas En cunplim^{to} de lo ñ se me manda por este auto de suso contenido hize sacar y saque A la letra segun E como esta e autos que En el se contienen Su thenor de los qles Uno en pos de otro Es este ñ se sigue.

DIZE DON TRISTAN ñ QUIERE ENTRAR LA TñRA ADENTRO

V En este puerto de santamaria de ochus destas prouinçias de la florida En veinte y siete dias del mes de agosto de mill y qui^{os} e sesenta Años en presençia de mi Juan de bargas escribano miõr dellas se juntaron a consulta el Ill^e señor don tristan de luna y

[95 v]

†

[*Addressed:*] To the illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor [*torn:* and captain] general of the pro[*torn:* vices] of La Florida.

Viceroy. [*There is a seal stamped on wax.*]

†

[*Indorsed:*] Viceroy. Received November 6, 1560.

[*Indorsed:*] Answered.

[*Indorsed:*] August 2 [*sic*], 1560.

[96 r] [DOCUMENTS OF THE SUIT BETWEEN LUNA
AND HIS FOLLOWERS]

†

Second.

HE ORDERS THE CLERK TO GIVE HIM A TRANSCRIPT OF A PROCESS

I, Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor and captain-general of the provinces of La Florida and the Punta de Santa Elena, et cetera, for his Majesty, command you, the present notary, to give me an authentic transcript duly sworn, of the original of the process which is in your possession [and] of the autos and papers which passed between me and the captains who were in this camp, concerning my ordering them to go inland, so that the case may be presented to his Majesty or to the members of the royal audiencia which resides in New Spain.

DON TRISTÁN.

And I, Juan de Vargas, chief notary of these provinces of La Florida named by the illustrious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, governor and captain-general thereof, in compliance with what is required of me by this auto, hereinbefore contained, caused to be taken and took copies letter for letter exactly as they are of the autos in it contained, their tenor one after the other being as follows:

He gives it to him.

DON TRISTÁN SAYS HE DESIRES TO GO INLAND

In this port of Santa María de Ochuse of these provinces of La Florida on the twenty-seventh day of the month of August of the year 1560, in the presence of me, Juan de Vargas, chief notary therein, there were gathered together in consultation the illus-

harellano y Xorxe Zeron sabedra maestre de canpo y el tesorero Alonso Velazquez R^es y el contador alonso perez y el capitan baltasar de sotelo y el capitan don pedro de acuña y el capitan don xpobal y el capitan di^o tellez y el capitan Juan de porras y el capitan Julian de acuña para ber las cartas q̃ de la tñra Adentro escriben al señor Visrrey y hal señor gouernador de lo q̃ se a uisto [96 b] de la tñra y uisto y platicado &. el dño señor gouernador dixo [roto: q̃ ?] Atento a lo q̃l sargento mñor lescribe y los capitanes de la prouincia de coça El quiere entrar la tñra adentro con los capitanes y personas de cargos y la demas Jente y que en este puerto el dexara xente y [roto: vn ?] capitan que guarde El puerto

Don TRISTAN DE LUNA Y HARELLANO.

PARECER DEL M^e DE CANPO [27 DE AGOSTO DE 1560]

V E luego el dño señor maese de canpo auiendo uisto las cartas q̃l capitan don xpoubal truxo de la prouincia de coça del sargento mñor E capitanes y rrelisiosos que escriben Al Ill^{mo} Visrrey y al señor gouernador con otras de particulares que escriben a amigos y a soldados En este canpo y la rrelaçion q̃l dño don Xpōual y los q̃ Con el binyeron dan q̃ todos se bienen a conformar y conforman En dezir que lo meJor que En toda la tñra se a uisto En dozientas leguas que an andado es lo de ypanaca y talpa donde este canpo Estubo por tener Una poca de tñra Rasa porq̃ toda la demas que A uisto es montuosa Azenagada de poca Jente y bastimentos en tanta necesidad q̃ se tiene por çierto no poder bibir en ella cantidad de xente por no thener dispusiçion para grangerias de ganados ni otras cosas neçesarias al sustentamiento como mas largo lo Escribe el R^{do} padre fray domingo de salaçar persona rrelisiosa y deseosa de q̃sta tñra se pueble y entendido lo dño y las causas que ay En contrario para q̃l señor gouernador quiera Entrar como dize q̃ serian largas de dezir dixo que ansimismo no conbiene que la tal entrada se haga por el poco [97 a] bastimento que hal presente En este puerto Ay q̃ Con la tasa que En ello se tiene se cre y es ansi que no abra mas de para todo este mes de setienbre q̃ Vendra y si desto se obiese de

trious Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, Jorge Cerón Saavedra the *maestre de campo*, the treasurer, Alonso Velázquez Rodríguez, the accountant, Alonso Pérez, Captain Baltazar de Sotelo, Captain Don Pedro de Acuña, Captain Don Cristóbal, Captain Diego Téllez, Captain Juan de Porras, and Captain Julián de Acuña, to see the letters that have been written from the interior to the viceroy and the governor concerning what has been seen [96 v] of the land. When they had been seen and discussed, et cetera, the governor said that in view of what the *sargento mayor* and the captains of the province of Coosa write him, he desires to go inland with the captains and persons in command and the rest of the people, and to leave in this port people and a captain to guard it.

Don TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

OPINION OF THE MAESTRE DE CAMPO, [AUGUST 27, 1560]

Immediately the *maestre de campo* [gave his opinion, after] having seen the letters which Captain Don Cristóbal brought from the province of Coosa from the *sargento mayor*, the captains, and the religious—who write to the most illustrious viceroy and the governor—with other letters from private persons who write to friends and soldiers in this camp; [and after hearing] the account which the said Don Cristóbal and those who returned with him give, all of which tend to conform and do conform in saying that the best territory they have seen in all the land in the two hundred leagues they have traveled is in Nanipacana and Talpa⁷¹ where this camp was. For at that place there was a little clear land, but all the rest they have seen is wooded and swampy, with few inhabitants and so wanting in food that it is held for certain that a large number of people could not live in it, there being no opportunity for cattle-raising or other activities necessary for existence, as is written at greater length by the reverend father, Fray Domingo de Salazar, a religious who desires that this country be settled. Understanding this, and the reasons there are against the governor's wishing to go inland as he says—reasons which would be too long to tell—[the *maestre de campo*] said: that it is not fitting that the journey contemplated be made because of the little [97 r] food at present in this port, for from the reckoning of it which has been made it is believed and it is true that there will not be more than enough for this coming month of September. If from this supply rations were to be given to the one hundred

dar Raçon A çien hombres y caualllos q̃l señor gouernador podra lleuar por muy tasado que fuese no habra para dar A los q̃ fueren y para los que aqui q̃dasen y seria poner En confusion a todo el campo y dado caso que la entrada del señor gouernador fuese necesaria como el lo propone y que la t̃r̃a fuera de otra dispusiçion y manera de la q̃s auiendo tan poco fruto como se espera q̃ de poblalla puede Resultar Ansi para Serui^o de ñro señor y conuer-sion de los naturales q̃s lo que su m̃ag pretende por no poderse tratar en ella desde este puerto ni de otra parte ser tan trauajosa y de tan pocos bastimentos como se a uisto Es ynposible podella Andar ni comunicar ningun genero de hombres sino fuesen de la condiçion y manera q̃ los naturales porq̃ Cada ocho o diez dias ay grandes aguaçeros frio y calor grande En tal manera destenplada q̃ : [n]o dura la Ropa que los hombres traen Veinte dias y lo que al presente los soldados tienen Es tan poca que casi estan desnudos y descalços y hasi se tiene por çierto lo Estan los que alla q̃dan y de los q̃ Vienen se pareze q̃al todos deben estar asi q̃ lo q̃ mas conbiene es hazer Relaçon de lo que la t̃r̃a es. Al Ill^{mo} señor Visrrey para [97 b] que mande y p^obea lo que al serui^o de su m̃ag Conuenga porque no sera Justo que su m̃ag gaste su rr^{al} hazienda ni ninguna parte della Con tan grandes trauajos y necesidades de sus Vasallos como se esperan q̃ podran thener los q̃ En la t̃r̃a poblasen y del poblar tan poco fruto como esta d̃ho y en el entretanto que la determinaçion del señor Visrrey se sabe y espera se ynbie capitan Con Asta Veinte y çinco o treinta hombres que Entren adonde el sargento m̃ior y campo esta q̃ Vastan pues han benido ocho hombres de a cauallo y los mas a pie y en mulas sin hauer contradiciçion En toda la t̃r̃a para dexar de pasar y estos con tan gran neçesidad de comida y hallando tan poco a sienpre murieron de hanbre y Andando cada dia a seis y ha ocho y ha diez leguas porq̃ si menos andubieran corrieran Riesgo y trauaxo y q̃sto Es su pareçer En quanto A la entrada q̃l señor gouernador dize querer hazer E que tratado del pro e contra y bisto el parezer de los ofiçiales y capitanes conuiniendo q̃ Vaya otro capitan y

men and horses which the governor might take, however it might be doled out, there would not be enough to give to those who might go and those who were to stay here. This would be to throw the entire camp into confusion, on the supposition that the governor's expedition as he proposes is necessary, and the land of other quality and character than it is, whereas there can result from colonizing it thus very little of the profit which is expected for the service of our Lord and the conversion of the natives, which is what his Majesty desires, because this cannot be attempted from this port; and from any other place it is so difficult, and so scant is the food supply, as has been seen, that it is impossible for any kind of men to traverse the country or have communication in it unless they be of the same condition and manner of life as the natives. For every eight or ten days there are hard rains, cold, and great heat, in such intemperate succession that the clothing which the men wear does not last twenty days; that which the soldiers have at present is so scanty that they are nearly naked and barefoot. So also, it is thought certain, are those who remain there, for those who come, it appears, are in the same condition as all must be. Thus the most fitting thing is to make to the most illustrious viceroy a report of what the country is like, [97 v] so that he may order and provide that which is suited to his Majesty's service; for it would not be right that his Majesty spend his royal treasury nor any part of it [only to produce] such great hardships and privations for his vassals as those who settle in the country are expected to experience, and with such scant profit, as has been said. In the interval, then, until the decision of the viceroy is learned, and while we are awaiting it, a captain should be sent with about twenty-five or thirty men, to go inland to where the sargento mayor and his camp are. These will be sufficient, for eight men have returned from there on horseback and the others on foot and on mules, meeting no opposition in the entire country to prevent their progress; yet they experienced such great dearth of food, so little being found, that they were always nearly dead of hunger, though marching every day six to eight or ten leagues; for if they marched less they encountered risk and hardship. So this is his opinion as to the expedition which the governor says he wants to make; and when it has been discussed pro and con, and the opinions of the officials and the captains have been seen, if these all agree that another captain should go with some soldiers we will decide what he should receive by way of

xente se bera lo que a de llebar por ynstruición para q̃ se haga y
cunpla lo q̃ se acordare e lo firmo de su nombre

JORGE ZERON.

PAREÇER DE LOS OFICIALES

V^o nos El tesorero alonso belazques R^es y el contador alonso perez
oficiales de la Real hazienda de su m^ãg destas prouⁱas de la florida
Respondiendo a lo propuesto por el señor gouernador y dado su
pareçer en este puerto de polonza A Veinte [98 a] y ocho de
agosto de mill y quinientos y sesenta Açerca de lo q̃ toca Al Entrar
la tr̃ra adentro do Esta el sargento mⁱor y los demas capitanes sy
conbendra Entrar El q^{al} dixo y se rresumio y aclaro y lo mando
Asentar ansi al eScriuano Juan de Vargas q̃ mando llamar Pã
el Efeto q̃l estaua presto y queria yr y entrar la tr̃ra Adentro syn
dar Causa ni Razon para Ello mas de auerselo escrito el sargento
mⁱor y que aqui q̃daria en este puerto El maese de canpo y q̃l y
nosotros y los demas Capitanes q̃stauan presentes diesen su
parezer porq̃l no haria otra cosa primero e hante todas cosas
hauiendonos mandado mostrar Vna carta que lescreuian los Reli-
siosos sargento mior y capitanes y otra por si el sargento mⁱor
y para sauer mas por Entero la claridad del negoçio theniendo
notiçia q̃ se escribia sobre ello Al señor Visrrey se pidio pareçiese
la carta q̃ se les Escriuia y se uiese sy concordaban la q̃^{al} se leyo
publicamente el dño dia Estando Juntos y hauiendolas Visto Como
dño es y entendido y teniendo Entera Relaçon de la dña Ansi
por ellas Como por Relaçon q̃ tubimos del capitan don xpoual q̃
Vino de Alla el dia antes y lo a uisto y de otros muchos soldados
personas d. Credito que ansimismo Vinieron de Alla lo q̃ nos
pareze q̃ se deue de hazer despues de auerlo Encomendado A dios
e Visto las cartas e ynformandonos En dios y en nñas Conçiençias
syn Afición [98 b] ni pasion syno Xpianamente es.

V^o q̃ visto y entendido que En lo q̃ toca al poblar y permaner En
esta tr̃ra los españoles ni a lleuarlo ni permaner adelante especial-

instructions, so that whatever may be decided upon shall be done and fulfilled. And he signed it with his name,

JORGE CERÓN.

OPINION OF THE OFFICIALS

We, the treasurer, Alonso Velázquez Rodríguez, and the accountant, Alonso Pérez, officials of the royal treasury of his Majesty for these provinces of La Florida, reply to the proposal made by the governor in his opinion given in this port of Polonza on the twenty-[98 r]eighth of August of the year 1560. [The proposal was] to go inland to where the sargento mayor and the other captains are, if it be wise to do so. He gave, recapitulated, and clarified said opinion, and he commanded the notary, Juan de Vargas, whom he ordered called for the purpose, to set it down in writing. It was that he was ready and willing to go inland, without giving any cause or reason for so doing save that the sargento mayor had written him to that effect; the maestre de campo was to remain here in this port, and he and we and the other captains who were present were to give our opinions, for he would do nothing until first and above all things [this should be done]. He had previously ordered that we be shown a letter written to him by the religious, the sargento mayor, and the captains, and another written by the sargento mayor alone. So, having information that he had written to the viceroy concerning the matter, in order to know the business more completely and clearly, we asked him to show the letter which he had written so that it might be seen whether [it and the letters from the interior] were in accordance. The letter was publicly read on the day mentioned in the presence of the junta; and when all the letters had been seen and understood as has been said, and we had obtained complete information concerning the country both from them and from the account we had from Captain Don Cristóbal, who had come from the interior the day before and had seen it, as well as from many other soldiers and credible persons who also came from there, what it appeared to us should be done, after having commended the matter to God, having seen the letters, and resting our belief in God and in our consciences without reservation [98 v] or passion but as Christians, is:

That, having seen and learned all that concerns the settlement and permanent occupation of this country by the Spaniards, [we believe that] they should not carry the plan into effect nor stay

mente por esta parte do al presente Estamos ni entrar la tr̃ra adentro Es cosa ynposible por̃ se tiene entendido y se bee por las cartas y lo q̃ dizen los q̃ de halla Vienen de Aqui a coça A do estan ay çiento y ochenta leguas antes mas q̃ no menos. En todo lo qual no ay do se pueda poblar ni hazer Vn pueblo despañoles ni en el mesmo coça por ser la tr̃ra tan zerrada de montes llena de çienagas y esteros y la m̃ior parte despoblada y lo poblado de tan poca Jente que no es bastante a poderse sustentar ningun pueblo q̃ se hiziese despañoles ni ellos poder labrar por no thener tr̃ras ni donde thener sus ganados Pã Ayudarse dello para sus neçesidades y mantenimientos.

V lo otro porque lo mexor de la tr̃ra dizen ser lo de la prouinçia de talpa y upiache y nanipacana q̃s do llego el señor gouernador. se tiene Visto claramente no es tr̃ra para se poder poblar por los montes y çienagas q̃ tiene Visto lo qual y la rrelaçion q̃ se tenia de la tr̃ra adentro fue a la nueva España el Vicario fray p^o de feria A ynformar al señor Visrrey esta tr̃ra no hera para poderse poblar pues de lo mexor q̃ dizen ser y a uisto para se poblar se esta Entendido no lo es y que coça Auian dño [99 a] hera lo mexor de la tr̃ra. Agora se bee y escriben y dizen no es para poblar despañoles por los muchos montes y poca Xente y tr̃ras q̃ tienen q̃ sera de lo demas q̃ Resta de ber En la tr̃ra pues lo q̃ se dezia que hera lo mexor de la tr̃ra no es para poblar ni poder sustentar Vn pueblo d. españoles.

V Lo otro en la carta q̃ solo el sargento m̃ior Escribe Al señor gouernador dize cunple baya Alla y que no le Engañen de detenerle por aca por̃ ya que no se hallase tr̃ra para poblar Cunplia con quien hera y hatapaba la boca A rruines yntençiones por do pareze claro lescribe Afiçionadamente y conoçe no hauer Allado tr̃ra Pã poderse poblar y tan solamente le aconseJa le cunple la ida y Entrada la tr̃ra adentro por lo q̃ del se podria dezir y no por serui^o q̃ se podria hazer A dios y ha su m̃ag y haun Esto segun somos ynformados theniendo entendido estaua el canpo y gouernador En

in the future, especially in this part where we now are. Nor should they enter the interior, this being an impossible thing, because it is understood, as is seen from the letters and what those say who have come from there, that it is a hundred and eighty leagues (rather more than less) from here to Coosa where [our people] are. In all that distance there is no place to settle nor plant a town of Spaniards, not even in Coosa itself; for that country is shut in by forests full of marshes and swamps, the greater part of it is unpopulated, and the populated part contains so few people that they are not enough to support any town of Spaniards which might be established. Nor could they do any farming, because there are no lands nor any place to keep their cattle where they could avail themselves of them for their needs and support.

Another reason is that they say the best of the land is that in the province of Talpa, Upiache, and Nanipacana, which is the part to which the governor went. But it is plain to see that even it is no country to settle in on account of the forests and swamps it contains. In view of this and of the account which was obtained of the interior, the vicar, Fray Pedro de Feria, went to New Spain to inform the viceroy that this country is not fit to settle in. For the best part that has been seen and which they say is suitable for settlement is now known not to be so; and as to what has been said about [99 r] Coosa being the best part of the country, we now see from what they write and say that it is not fit to be settled by Spaniards because of the many forests and the few lands and people that it contains. All the rest of the country yet to be seen must be just like it, for what was called the best of the land is not fit to settle in, nor capable of sustaining one town of Spaniards.

Moreover, in the letter which the sargento mayor writes alone, he says to the governor that he ought to go there and not allow himself to be deceived into staying here even though no good land on which to settle be found, for by so doing he would act as his position required, and close the mouth of base criticism. It is thus clear that he writes with mental reserve and knows that he has not found country fit to settle in, but only advises that the journey be made and the country be penetrated because of what might be said of him and not for the service which might be rendered to God and his Majesty. Even so, as we are informed, he thought that the camp and the governor were in Atache or Nani-

atache /o en nanipacana con pujañça de caualllos y bastimentos Venidos de la nueba españa.

V' Lo otro porque no ay bastimentos Pã poder llebar ni caualllos para yr ni entrar porq̃ no ay syno al pie de çinquenta o sesenta caualllos y estos tales que aconçe yr a caca y boluerse a pie de cansados por no poder traerle [99 b] por no hauer comido Vn año ha maiz y la Jente de muy desnuda E muy desesperada por thener entendido lo q̃s la tñra y dezirlo los q̃ de alla Vienen.

V' lo otro porque En las çiento y ochenta leguas y antes mas que ay deste puerto a coça Ay mucha parte del camiº despoblado yendo la Xente q̃s rrazon Vaya con el señor gouernador de neçesidad perecerian muchos d hanbre dexado aparte las çienagas y arcabucos que ay en el camiº yendo cargados con sus harmas y comida y ya que llegase al dño pueblo de coça do al presente estan y dizen les dan de comer y comen por rraçion y rraçion q̃ no alcança A los seruiçios q̃ se a de tener entendido como Vimos En los pueblos de nanipacana y upiache lo hazian Asi se hara y lo deuen hazer asta que coxan sus sementeras y acauen de poner En cobro sus mujeres como hizieron los de nanipacana y vpiache do escribieron auia tanto bastimento y nos fue forçado baxarnos a la mar por no acauar de pereçer Alli de hanbre que ara cargando toda la xente en coça Como se podra sustentar poblando y estando alli de asiento q̃ Aun los naturales no tienen tñras do senbrar pues pensar yr mas adelante ya se tiene Entendido lo q̃ puede ser por coça pues dezian hera lo mexor de la tñra y hansi escribe el sargento mior q̃ se teme la xente no se altere Al [100 a] partir de las peras q̃s al coxer de los maizales tomandoles Como se les ha de tomar para se poder sustentar porque agora creen q̃ Van de paso les dan tamemes y lo que piden por echallos de la tñra.

V' lo otro q̃l señor gouernador ni capitanes Vastaran A consolar y tener la xente ni como su m̃ag los podra sustentar ni donde An de

pacana with a strong force of cavalry and provisions which had come from New Spain.

Another reason is that there is no food to take, nor horses with which to go inland; for there are only about fifty or sixty horses, and these are in such condition that it happens when [our people] go out to hunt they come back on foot all tired out, the horses being unable to carry them [99 v] because they have eaten no corn for a year. Also the people are nearly naked, and desperate at having found out what the country is like, as those describe it who have come from there.

Another reason is that in the one hundred eighty leagues or rather more which lie between this port and Coosa, for a great part of the road the country is unpopulated, and if the people who might be expected to do so were to go with the governor, many, marching loaded down with their arms and rations, would necessarily perish from hunger, let alone from the swamps and brambles in the road. And once arrived at the town of Coosa where at present they [*i.e.*, the sargento mayor and his men] are, and declare they are fed by ration and eat by ration, moreover, a ration incommensurate with the service which it is understood they have to render, as we saw done in the towns of Nanipacana and Upiache so it will be done, and this must be until [the Indians] reap their crops and place their women in shelter as did those of Nanipacana and Upiache, from which places [our people] wrote that there were such abundant provisions, whereas we were forced to come down to the sea to keep from perishing there of hunger. The same thing will happen if all the people are taken to Coosa, for how can they be sustained while settling and establishing themselves there when even the natives have no lands on which to sow crops? Hence we know already what the idea of going inland will result in as far as Coosa is concerned, for they said it was the best part of the country. The sargento mayor writes also that it is to be feared that the natives may revolt when [100 r] they collect their corn from the fields, and the Spaniards take it from them as they will have to do so as to maintain themselves. Even now the Indians think that they [*i.e.* the Spaniards] are only passing through, and give them carriers and everything they ask merely to get them out of the country.

Another reason is that neither the governor nor the captains will suffice to console or control the people, nor can his Majesty maintain them or give them lands to cultivate to maintain themselves,

labrar para se sustentar ni donde An de thener sus ganados ni de que an de bestir ni que ynterese basta a que se trate ni Ande Vn camino tan largo Especialmente syn Esperança de ningun pro-uecho y por Estas causas y otras muchas q̃ se podrian dezir Visto y entendido lo suso dño seran sy como lo es A que hefeto a de ir el señor gouernador ni entrar la tñra adentro syno a que perezcan los q̃stan la tñra adentro y los q̃ Con El fueren Viendo por las causas dñas no se poder poblar y sy su señoria todauia quisiere yr Estamos prestos de yr con el y seguille dandonos Como lo podamos hazer Aunque nos pareçe Seria mejor se le ynuiasse mandado al sargento mñor y capitanes q̃stan la tñra Adentro con treynta soldados con los mexores caualllos que ay y diez mulas para q̃ les ayudasen a lleuar algunos bastimentos para q̃ se boluiesen a este puerto no auiendo otra cosa mexor de lo que asta agora an escrito y bisto y esto Con toda brebedad por estar tan çerca del ynbierno y que dexasen a los naturales con todo amor y paz syn hazelles malos tratamientos y entretanto se tendria mandado del señor Visrrei q̃ tiene entendido y se le a escrito lo q̃s la tñra y que manda se haga y [100 b] sy fuere menester yr Jente a santa elena se podra yr porq̃ por Esta parte aunque la tñra fuese muy buena y de muy grandes Aprouechamientos no se podria sustentar por las causas dñas esto mas no se hallando En toda la tñra cosa de que los españoles se puedan Aprouechar ni aun sustentar de sola comida y hauer tan pocos yndios y en tan zerrados arcabucos Rios y esteros q̃s muy dificultoso de tomar Vn yndio ni pareçer sy el no se quiere mostrar lo qual teniendo entendido Estamos de asiento y permanecemos haran lo que hizieron los de nanipacana upiache y utchile que quando querian pareçian y nos tirauan quatro flechazos y en buscandolos no pareçia yndio ni se podia hauer ni hallar por la mucha maleza de la tierra.

V Las cartas q̃scriuieron al señor gouernador los capitanes y la q̃scriuió el sargento mñor pedimos se ponga originalmente Con esta nña Respuesta Juntamente con Vn treslado de la q̃ se escribe al señor Visrrey y por la gran falta que ay de comida nos pareçe mientras se da mandado a los de la tñra adentro y uienen se despache El pataxe q̃sta En este puerto Al señor Visrrey a la nueva España a darle quenta de lo suçedido y lleue Juntamente los

or any place to keep their cattle, or any clothes to wear, or anything that can profit them. So it is too much to try to make so long a march, especially without the hope of any gain. For these reasons and many others which might be recited, seeing and knowing that the foregoing arguments will turn out as we say, to what end will the governor go inland except to cause both those who are there now and those who go with him to perish? For the reasons given the settlement cannot be made, but if his Lordship still desires to go, we are ready to go with him and follow him, giving ourselves as best we may; but it seems to us that it would be better to send [someone] inland to the sargento mayor and the captains who are there, with thirty soldiers, the best horses there are, and ten mules to help them carry some provisions, that they may return to this port if they find nothing better than what has yet been seen and written about. This should be done with all promptness as winter is so near. And they should let the natives alone in all love and peace, without doing them any harm. Meantime, orders could be received from the viceroy, who would have been informed from what has been written him what the country is like, and he will command what is to be done. [100 v] If it be necessary to send people to Santa Elena they may go; for in this part, even though the land were very good and great in possibilities, they could not be maintained for the reasons given. Particularly is this so, as there is nothing to be found in the entire country of which the Spaniards may avail themselves, even to provide food alone. Also there are very few Indians, and they live in such dense undergrowth, amid rivers and swamps, that it is very difficult to capture an Indian, or even see one if he does not wish to show himself. We know that if we become settled and remain permanently, they will do as did those of Nanipacana, Upiache, and Utchile; for whenever they wanted to, they appeared and shot a few arrows at us, but when we sought them not an Indian could be seen, nor could any be found because of the dense undergrowth of the country.

We ask that the originals of the letters which the captains wrote to the governor and the one the sargento mayor wrote be filed with this our reply together with a transcript of the one written to the viceroy; and because of the existing great scarcity of food, it seems to us that while a message is being sent to the people inland and they are coming, the tender which is in this port should be sent to the viceroy of New Spain to give him a report of what

Recaudos y pareçeres q̃ sobre Este caso se dieren para q̃ Visto su s^a Ill^{ma} prouea lo que mas Viere q̃ Conbenga y esto es lo que nos pareze cunple si otra cosa al señor gouernador m^e. de canpo y capitanes no pareçiere y lo firmamos de nros nonbres

ALONSO VELAZQUES RODRIQUEZ.

ALONSO PEREZ.

[101 a]

PAREÇER DE LOS CAPITANES

V En cunplimiento de lo q̃l señor gouernador mando cada capitan diese su pareçer sobre la yda de coça Adonde estan los capitanes y el sargento mñor syendo el de su señoria de yr.

V nos pareçe que ante todas cosas su señoria mande poner por cabeza deste nro pareçer las cartas oreginales de los capitanes y frailes que alla estan firmadas de sus nonbres y la del sargento mñor y la que se Escribe al Ill^{mo}. señor Visrrey de la nueba españa lo q^{al} pedimos y suplicamos A su señoria mande poner este pareçer y si neçesario es con El Acatami^{to} deuido se lo Requerimos y protestamos para q̃ dellas y lo que En ellas se contiene conste A su ma^g. porq̃ demas de las Razones En ellas Contenidas de lo q̃s la trñra Ay los ynconbenientes siguientes.

V lo uno q̃ pã cien hombres q̃ su s^a quiere lleuar con sus seruicios no ay bastimento q̃ de aqui se pueda sacar ni lleuar para dozientas leguas que ay de aqui alla y caso a mas de çien leguas de aqui se allase alguno seria muy poco. Como es muy notorio por lo q̃ hemos entrado y bisto otras muchas vezes y thenemos por muy çierto pereçer todos los que con su señoria fuesemos y los q̃ Aqui q̃dasen quedarian en gran Riesgo por la falta del Vastimento que les q̃daria.

V lo otro los caualllos y machos que ay q̃ seran asta çinquenta Estan flacos y floxos de no comer maiz tanto tienpo ha q̃ pã yr a caça En este rr^{al} en ellos Acaeçe syenpre a media legua de aqui cansarse y dexarlos los que En ellos Van y traen las sillas a cuestas.

has happened; it should carry also the suggestions and opinions which have been presented in this case so that they may be seen by his very illustrious Lordship and he may then order what he sees to be most suitable. This is what appears to us to be called for unless something else seems to the governor, the *maestre de campo*, and the captains to be desirable. We sign it with our names:

ALONSO VELÁZQUEZ RODRÍGUEZ.

ALONSO PÉREZ.

[101 r]

OPINION OF THE CAPTAINS

In compliance with what the governor ordered, that each captain should give his opinion concerning going to Coosa where the captains and the *sargento mayor* are, it being the mind of his Lordship to go, [we captains say:]

That it seems to us that, above all things, his Lordship should order placed at the beginning of this our opinion the original letters of the captains and friars who are there, signed with their names, that of the *sargento mayor*, and the one which he is writing to the very illustrious viceroy of New Spain. And so we ask and supplicate his Lordship to order this opinion so placed, and if necessary, we do with due respect require and protest that he do so, in order that they and what is contained in them may be placed in evidence before his Majesty; for, in addition to the reasons contained in them concerning what the country is like, there are the following objections [to the governor's plans]:

First: For the hundred men with their servants whom his Lordship desires to take with him, there is not sufficient food which can be taken from here or carried the two hundred leagues between here and [their destination], and if perchance in over a hundred leagues from here any can be found, it will be very little, as is very well known from what we have traveled over and seen many other times. We consider it very certain that all of us who might go with his Lordship would perish and those who would remain here would run great risk from the failure of the supplies which would be left them.

Second: The horses and mules which are here, which must number about fifty, are so thin and weak from eating no corn for so long, that if any of us go hunting from this camp on them it always happens that within half a league from here they become exhausted, and those who go on them have to leave them behind and come back carrying the saddles on their shoulders.

[101 b] V lo otro q̃s ynposible sacar la cantidad de Jente q̃ su señoria dize por que En todos los soldados que al presente en Este campo ay no pasan de çiento y çinquenta y los mas destos enfermos desarmados desnudos y descalços y en tiempo q̃ ya es ynbierno donde no podran dexar de pasar gran Riesgo y dado caso que pasando todos estos trauaxos y neçesidades llegasen Adonde Esta el sargento mñor no se podrian sustentar los q̃ de aca fuesen y halla estan porq̃ sauemos del capitan don Xpõual y de los demas soldados q̃ de alla binieron no se pueden sustentar En ningun pueblo de dos o tres dias arriba y en algunos no ningun dia y q̃ sienpre con ser la mexor Coyuntura y tpo del año por ser la cosecha En la prouinçia de coça q̃ se tiene por lo mexor de la tñra no se pueden sustentar syn rraçion y esta muy pequeña syn darla a los seruicios donde es muy notorio hauer gran falta de bastimentos y si algo dan los naturales es Asta coxer sus sementeras y ponerlas En cobro como syenpre lo an echo y ansi pareçe porq̃ Con estar los yndios de paz no tienen A sus mujeres ni hijos ni maiz en sus casas.

V Lo otro que en todo lo q̃ por todas las partes q̃ En esta tñra se a entrado y se a uisto y lo q̃ se escribe y dizen todos los q̃stan en coça y uinieron de alla con el capitan don xpõbal que la tñra no es para poblar ni en ella se podran sustentar Veinte hombres en qualquier pueblo q̃ se poblase en ella porq̃ demas de no aber tñras Pã sen [sic] [102 a] *senbrar mas de las que los yndios ocupan* q̃ por ser tan pocas Acauado de coxer una mazorca de maiz syenbran luego al pie de la mesma caña otra vez Con todo esto tienen por preñçipal bastimento bellotas Amargas y cogollos de cañas y otras Raizes Con que pasan y sustentan su bida y por ser la tñra de las calidades q̃ dezimos no es cosa conuinyente hazer caudal della para q̃ Dios ni su maḡ puedan ser seruidos ni conseguir su Real boluntad syendo demas de lo dño muy pocos los naturales y muy pobres y que no tienen mas de lo q̃ la naturaleza les dio y q̃ demas de no poder ser auidos sy no quieren por la façilidad Con que se ausentan y meten por los arcabucos Rios y çienagas no tienen ni pueden

[101 v] Third: It is impossible to take the number of men his Lordship speaks of because, counting all the soldiers at present in this camp, there are not more than one hundred and fifty, and the most of these are ill, unarmed, naked, and barefoot, at a season which is already winter, in which they cannot fail to run great risks. Granting that after passing through all these hardships and privations they might reach the place where the sargento mayor is, those who go from here and those who are there could not be fed, for we know from Captain Don Cristóbal and the other soldiers who came from there that they cannot be provisioned in any town for more than two or three days and in some of the towns not for a single day. This was at the best time and season of the year, it having been harvest time in the province of Coosa, which is considered the best of the country; [but even so the soldiers] could not be maintained save on a ration and this a very small one and none at all being given to the serving people, where it is very notorious that there is great dearth of provisions; for if the natives give any it is only until they can gather their crops and put them in hiding as they always have done as it appears, for, even if the Indians are peaceable they do not keep either their wives, their children, nor their corn in their houses.

Fourth: In all parts of this country that have been entered and seen, and from all that is said and written by those who are in Coosa or who have come from there with Captain Don Cristóbal, [it is apparent] that the country is not fit to settle in, nor can twenty men be supported in any town that may be established in it. For, aside from there being no lands on which *to plant crops* [102 r] *save those the Indians occupy, these are so scant* that as soon as an ear of corn is gathered they immediately plant again at the foot of the selfsame stalk. Even with all this they have for their principal food bitter acorns, shoots of canes, and roots, wherewith they pass and sustain their lives. Inasmuch as the country has the qualities we describe, it is not a proper thing to hold it in high esteem, for neither may God nor his Majesty be served thereby nor his royal will be attained; for, aside from what has been said, the natives are very few and very poor and have nothing more than what nature gave them. And so, aside from the fact that they cannot be held if they do not wish, because of the ease with which they absent themselves and go into the brambles, rivers, and swamps, the Spaniards who might live in

thener los Españoles q̃ En ella auitasen Aprouechami^o alguno y menos pueden tener ningun genero de ganados miõres ni menores.

V otro sy caso que fuere nezesaria la entrada de su s^a como parece no serlo *Estamos desproueidos de harmas* y caualllos y seruiçios y de todo genero de rropa y calçado por todo se auer perdido el Rio abaxo en las balsas como su s^a sabe y bio por bista de oJos todo lo q^{al} no sera parte Pã q̃ dexemos de seguir A su señoria sy dios y la ma^g del Rey don felipe n. s^{or} pudiesen ser seruidos dello y dando su señoria horden y bastimentos como podamos yr syn perdernos nosotros y la xente q̃ Con su s^a fuere y si su señoria syguiendo su boluntad quisyere todabia yr [102 b] [yr: sic] desde luego deçimos y con el acatami^o deuido P^otestamos no nos pare perJuicio a nñas personas ni uienes todas las muertes daños E menoscauos q̃ de su ida suçedieren y rrecreçieren y ansi lo pedimos por testimonio al presente Escribano y los q̃stan presentes dello sean t^os demas de otras muchas causas y muy bastantes q̃ podriamos dar.

V otro sy deçimos q̃ su señoria ynuie a dar auiso luego al sargento mior y capitanes q̃stan la tñra adentro de lo que deban y conbenga hazerse Con alguna Jente Vien adereçados a la ligera Aunq̃ Vayan con algun trauaxo y que asimismo su señoria de auiso al Ill^{mo} señor Visrrey de la nueba españa de lo que Es y hay en la tñra Con el pareçer y cartas de los capitanes y frailes q̃ ynuian de la tñra Adentro y con ynformacion del capitan don Xpoũabal y soldados que con el binieron porque ansi conbiene Al serui^o de Dios y de su ma^g. y q̃l patax llebe las dñas R^{al}on e ynformacion que dño tenemos Juntamente Con la Xente Enferma e ynutil que en este exercito Esta pues otro prouecho dellos no se tiene ni se espera syno gastar los bastimentos y por q̃ste Es nño pareçer lo firmamos de nños nonbres

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA.

DON XOÛBAL RAMIREZ DE ARELLANO.

BALTASAR DE SOTELO.

DI^o TELLEZ.

JUAN DE PORRES.

JULIAN DE ACUÑA.

the country would not and could not find any cultivable lands at all, nor even keep any kind of cattle, large or small.

Fifth: Even in case the expedition of his Lordship were necessary, as it seems not to be, *we are not provided with arms*, horses, equipment, or any kind of clothing or shoes, because they were all lost coming down the river on the rafts, as his Lordship knows and saw with his own eyes. But all this would constitute no reason why we should fail to follow his Lordship if God and the Majesty of the king, Don Felipe our lord, could be served thereby; and if his Lordship gives the order and provides supplies so that we can go without destroying ourselves and the people who go with him, and if his Lordship, persisting in his will, desires still to go, [102 v] we say at once and with all due respect protest that no judgment be brought against our persons or estates for all the deaths, injuries, and losses which may happen or become multiplied through his going. Therefore we ask the notary present for a certified copy [of this opinion], and that those who are present shall be witnesses to these and the many other and very sufficient reasons [for not going] which we might give.

Moreover, we say that his Lordship should at once send to notify the sargento mayor and captains who are in the interior of what they ought to do. It would be wise to do this by sending some well-equipped men in light marching order even though they might experience some hardship. Also his Lordship should inform the very illustrious viceroy of New Spain what the country is like and has in it, [and send his report] with the opinion and letters which the captains and friars sent from the interior, and the report of Captain Don Cristóbal and the soldiers who came back with him, for this befits the service of God and of his Majesty. The tender should carry these reports and accounts we mention together with the sick and useless persons who are in this army, for there is no more benefit to be had from them nor is anything to be expected of them save that they will consume the food. And because this is our opinion we sign it with our names.

DON PEDRO DE ACUÑA.

DON CRISTÓBAL RAMÍREZ DE ARELLANO.

BALTAZAR DE SOTELO.

DIEGO TÉLLEZ.

JUAN DE PORRAS.

JULIÁN DE ACUÑA.

MANDA q̃ SE PONGAN AQUI LAS CARTAS

V E Visto el dño señor gouernador el pareçer del maese de canpo y capitanes y ofes de su mag^t dize q̃ se pongan oreginalmente las cartas que a su s^a lescriben y la carta [103 a] q̃ se Escribe Al Ill^{mo} Visrrey y la del sargento mñor y firmolo de su nombre el dño gouernador t^s q̃ fueron presentes a lo que dño es el capitan don xpōbal y sancho Velez En fee de lo q̃^{al} lo firme de mi nonbre

paso Ante mi

Ju^o DE UARGAS

esño mñor.

[MATEO DEL SAUZ A LUNA, APICA, 6 DE JULIO DE 1560]

Al muy Ill^e señor El gouernador mi señor.

muy Ill^e señor.

carta pã el gouernador escripta del campo de apica

V Por questos caualleros capitanes e Yo Escreuimos a .V.S^a todo lo que en la trñra ay E asta agora se a uisto solo Resta el calor y fauor de .V.S^a que aunque la trñra no nos aya contentado es poblada y tienese Entendido de oy demas Abra comida bastante segun por las sementeras q̃ se an bisto y podria ser que llegados al Asyento de coça hallasemos cosa q̃ mas nos satisfiçiese / o q̃ conbenga A lo q̃ V.S. por su ynstruiçion nos manda y si fuere tal hazerse ha y de lo uno y de lo otro se dara auiso a .V.s. llegando Xente a hatache porque asta alli Es la contrataçion destos yndios y podria por ellos darse auiso A V.S. la Jente que aca estamos careçe de calcado y sal y algunas cosas de camisas y por Esto y estar la xente fatigada y ser tan poca y halgo destrocada no me hatrebe A dibidir Jente ning.^a por Estar en trñra tan poblada porq̃ sino fuera la gran necesidad que ay de cobrar a juan de porras por creer trae estas cosas de que carezemos Sale El capitan Don Xpōbal Con diez de a cauallo y seis soldados en las mulas por creer Juan de porras estara ya En atache Como q̃Do Comigo y ha esta causa nos es forcoso diuidir esta xente y tanVien por Entender

HE ORDERS THAT THE LETTERS BE PUT HERE

When the governor saw the opinions of the *maestre de campo*, the captains, and the officials of his Majesty, he said that the originals of the letters which had been written to him and the letter [103 r] which he is writing to the most illustrious viceroy and the letter from the *sargento mayor* should all be placed here. Then the governor signed [the order] with his name, being witnesses present at what is here recorded Captain Don Cristóbal and Sancho Vélez. In testimony whereof I signed it with my name. Done before me,

JUAN DE VARGAS,
Chief notary.

[MATEO DEL SAUZ TO LUNA, APICA, JULY 6, 1560]

To the very illustrious governor my lord,

Very Illustrious Sir:

It is due to the warm friendship and favor of your Lordship that these gentlemen, captains, and I are writing [to describe] everything in the country so far as it has been seen up to this time. Although the country has not pleased us it is populated, and it is understood that from now on there will be plenty of food judging by the cornfields which have been seen. It may be that after arriving at the settlement of Coosa we shall find something that will please us better or prove more nearly adapted to [making possible] what you command us by your instruction to do. If this proves true it shall be done, and whether or not it be so notice will be given you when [your] people reach Atache, for the trading business of these Indians extends to that place, and it would be possible to send word to you by them. We people who are here have no more shoes, salt, or certain other things, as shirts for instance. For this reason, and because the people are worn out, so few in number, and somewhat discouraged, I would not dare to divide them at all, since we are in such a thickly populated country, if it were not for the grave necessity of getting into touch with Juan de Porras, believing that he is bringing the things we lack. [For this purpose] Captain Don Cristóbal is setting out with ten soldiers on horseback and six on mules, in the belief that Juan de Porras must now be in Atache where he stayed with me. For this reason we are forced to detach this party, especially as we know that all the natives we left

A letter from the governor written from the camp of Apica.

toda la xente q̃ dexamos atras q̃dar de buena boyas y hamigos y haun nos haze contentarnos Con lo q̃ [103 b] Ellos nos quieren dar si acaso .V.S. no hubiere proueydo Conbi^e mucho con gran brebedad salga xente y probeernos destas cosas q̃ carezemos Aunq̃ yo por mas açertado ternia V.S. saliese mire V.S. no le hengañen de detenerlo por alla porque a lo menos ya que no se hallase tñra donde poblar cunple V.S. Con quien es y hatapa la boca A rruines yntençiones y hagara ya es tpo q̃ no se puede padeçer las necesidades de comida que asta aqui porq̃ ya se coxe elotes y fresoles. tengolo por lo de mexor suelo lo de talpa y ynicula y hatache para poblar por ser tñra para ganados y hauer alli Vnos pedazos d Cauanas pero no se marauille V.S. no satisfazer A los frailes la tñra pues son Amigos de su propia boluntad y no cunplir con mas porq̃ ellos son los q̃ mas descontentos Estan no creo yo por falta de naturales syno por ser el suelo de la tñra Ruin y no partiçipar de los socorros q̃ de la nueba españa pueden Venir Este campo esta bueno Vendito nño señor de salud solo falta del dos caualllos Vno q̃ se haogo y otro q̃ murio de torozon gran necesidad thenemos de socorro por q̃ temo Esta xente no se altere Al partir de las peras porque aora creyendo q̃ ymos de paso dannos tamemes y los q̃ pedimos por echarnos de la tñra el prencipal q̃ Coça ynbio a que fuese con nosotros y por mensajero Va con nosotros syn hazer mudança todos nos Encaminan halla diziendo que ay mucha comida y que nos aguarda alla el señor. No se lo que sera Vamos entreteniendo todo lo q̃ podemos hasta q̃ [104 a] Vuelba don Xpōbal de atache y aun que lo padezcamos en la comida En no tenerla tan Auastadamente Como es menester para los caballos pasar lo emos por parecernos no conuiene quebrar Con estos necesidad tengo q̃ V. señoria me haga mñd de acordarse de mi de que si caualllos hubieren Venido de darme Algunos. Este campo careçe de calcado sy por alla se puede Remediar de traerse alguno muy neçesario es por lo menos suelas Ay lo q̃ de queros de benados se puede rremediar tanuién ay neçesidad d. Rescate q̃ no ay ning^o y deuo mas q̃l Rey tiene y por q̃ don Xpōbal Escribira a V.S. lo que a nño pareçer V.S. debe hazer En esto no dire mas nño señor la muy Ill^e persona de .V.S. guarde con el Acrecentami^o y estado q̃ sus

behind are of good disposition and friendly. They even make us happy with the things [103 v] they want to give us, and if your Lordship perchance has not obtained supplies, it would be very desirable to have some men go out very promptly and provide us with the things we lack; I should consider it more fitting that you yourself should go. See to it that you are not deceived into being detained there, for at least if you do not find land suitable for settling you comply with the duty of your position and close the mouths of base criticism. And now is the time, for now the dearth of food experienced hitherto will not have to be endured, the green corn and the beans being ready to gather. I consider the best land for settling to be that of Talpa, Ynicula, and Atache,⁷² because the country is suitable for cattle and there are some small tracts of grass lands there. Do not marvel that the country does not please the friars, for they are inclined to have their own way and not to do anything else; they are the ones who are the most discontented. I do not think that this is because of lack of natives, but because the soil in this country is poor, and they do not share in the assistance which may come from New Spain. This camp is in good health, thanks to our Lord; it has lost only two horses, one of which was drowned, and the other died of colic. We are in dire need of supplies, and I am fearful the people here may rise against us when they harvest their crops; for now, thinking we are only passing through, they give us burden-bearers and all we ask for in order to get us out of the country. The chief whom Coosa sent to go with us and be a messenger goes with us without any change. We are all going thither, as he says that there is plenty of food and that the chief is there awaiting us. I do not know what will happen; we shall get on as best we may until [104 r] Don Cristóbal returns from Atache; and even though we may suffer for lack of food, and have not as much provender for the horses as is necessary, we shall have to endure it, for it does not seem to us wise to break with these people. I have need that your Lordship be so kind as to remember me in case horses have come, and send me some. This camp lacks shoes; if this can be remedied there by bringing us some, they are very necessary. At least there are some soles, which can be mended with deerskin. We also need some things to trade, for we have none, and I owe more than the king possesses. As Don Cristóbal will write you what you should in our opinion do in this situation, I will say no more. May our Lord guard the very illustrious person of your Lordship with the in-

ff^o seruidores deseamos //de apica seis de Julio de mill y qui^{os} y sesenta años. Estaremos de coça Veinte leg^{as} A lo que se a entendido por las lenguas muy Yll^e señor Veso los pies de .V.S.

su seruidor

MATEO DEL SAZ.

[*Rubricado*]

[FRAY DOMINGO DE LA ANUNCIACIÓN Y OTROS A LUNA, COSA,
PRIMERO DE AGOSTO DE 1560]

muy Ill^e señor

otra cã escripta
de coça al gouernador
por vn frayle
y otras personas
del canpo

V porque las Relaciones echas de cada uno En particular no pueden AVnq̃ muy berdaderas bayan dexar de discordar En algo por ser ordinariamente dibersos los Juiçios y pareçeres q̃ de una mesma cosa muchos tienen y los que En esta Jornada por mandado de .V.S. Venimos seamos todos tan seruidores de .V.S. y como tales deseemos el Vuen suceso de los negoçios Especialmente deste q̃ tanto ynporta Acordamos por quitar a V. señoria la confusion que las muchas rrelaciones podrian traer y ser causa de no probeer tan acertadamente como conuiene Juntarnos todos como Asta aqui En todos los casos q̃ se ofreçen Emos echo y de un parezer y uoluntad dar A V. s^a q^{ta} de todo [104 b] lo Asta aqui sucedido y Juntamente con ello nro pareçer para q̃ Visto lo que aca ay mande .V.S. y hordene lo q̃ mas sea seruido.

V la tñra que asta aqui hemos Visto que seran desde nanipaca aqui çiento y veinte leguas poco mas/o menos Es toda de una manera y pareçer de los mesmos arboles y yeruas por manera q̃l que A Visto lo de alla lo a uisto todo eçeto que lo de por aca Es En alg^{as} partes de monte mas Espeso y de mas matorrales y maleza syerras asperas y haltas/como las despaña o nueba España no las emos Visto aunque hemos pasado muchos çerros y q̃bradas bien Asperos y pedregosos de lo q^{al} dezian carecer esta tierra /

V la Xente desta tñra En cantidad es mas q̃ la de alla porq̃ los pueblos desde quince/o diez y seis leguas atras asta donde Agora estamos y de aqui A coça segun los yndios dizen estan çerca Vnos de otros aun q̃ pu^{os} grandes ning^o hemos Visto ni q̃ tan grande sea como nanipacana ni en los pueblos Emos Visto mucha Xente junta enpero estan juntos Vnos de otros y por las sementeras q̃ ay y

crease and condition which your servants desire for you. Apica, July 6, 1560. We must be twenty leagues from Coosa, according to what we have understood from the interpreters. Very illustrious sir, I kiss your feet.

Date.

Your servant,

MATEO DEL SAZ.

[*Rubric*]

[FRAY DOMINGO DE LA ANUNCIACIÓN AND OTHERS TO LUNA, COOSA,
AUGUST 1, 1560]

Very Illustrious Sir:

Inasmuch as accounts given by each one in particular, although very true, cannot fail to disagree in something because ordinarily the judgments and opinions which many persons have of one and the same thing are diverse, and inasmuch as all of us who came on this expedition at your Lordship's command are equally your servants and as such desire the good success of affairs, especially of this one which is so important, we have agreed to relieve your Lordship of the confusion which many accounts might produce and become the reason whereby orders might not be given as appropriately as is desirable, and all to unite as we have hitherto done in all cases which have occurred, giving with one opinion and will an account of all [104 v] that has happened until now, together with this our opinion, so that when you have seen all that concerns this place, your Lordship may command and order what will be most pleasing.

Another letter written from Coosa to the governor by a friar and other persons of the camp.

The country which we have seen thus far, which must be one hundred and twenty leagues a little more or less between Nanipacana and here, is all of one character and appearance. It has the same trees and herbs, so that one who has seen it there has seen it all, save that the country about here is in some parts more densely forested, and has more brambles and undergrowth. High rugged mountains like those of Spain or New Spain we have not seen, although we have passed many hills and rough stony broken ground which this land was said to lack.

The people of this land are more numerous than in that land, for the towns from fifteen or sixteen leagues back of where we now are and from here to Coosa are, according to what the Indians say, near to each other, although we have seen no large towns, not even as large as Nanipacana. Neither have we seen many people together in the towns, but these are close together, and by

caminos que atrauiesan creemos ser tñra poblada en calidad pareze xente mas domestica y que mas facilmente bendran A ser soJuzgados enpero no es jente de tanta poliçia como la de alla abaxo porque aca los honbres Andan todos desnudos como quando naçieron y en ningun pueblo Emos allado tenplo como por alla los ay.

V' la gran fatiga que padeçimos desde ã de V.S. nos despedimos hasta llegar A caxiti de donde ynbiarnos a juan de porras con la xente y socorro ã pudimos dellos lo abra V.S. sauido la qual nos turo [*sic; i.e., duro*] diez Jornadas mas adelante por no hauer allado asta Alli donde descansar despues de las quales llegamos A vn pueblo llamado [105 a] onachiqui ãs el primer pueblo segun creemos de coça Adonde por Allar muy de otra manera los yndios que asta alli por que estos no se huyeron de sus casas nos estuvimos En este pueblo syete dias Adonde nos traian de comer A nño aloxami^o syn lo yr nosotros a buscar y ansi lo an eço los pueblos que hadelante hemos allado y aunque no nos dan maiz En tanta Abundancia Como la necesidad ã tenemos Requeria Enpero tenemos por meJor padeciendo algunas faltas conseruar la paz ã por buscar la abundancia Ronper la guerra.

V' Como es ya fin del año base acauando El maiz por lo q^{al} no podemos estar en Cada pueblo tanto como querriamos Enpero en cada Vno estamos todo lo mas que nos es posible y nos bamos lo mas poco A poco ã podemos lo uno por no nos alexar mas de V.S. Asta sauer de Juan de porras En cuya busca se parte oy el cap^{tan} don Xpōbal Ramirez de arellano Con diez honbres de a cauallo y seis ã Van En las mulas del rrey para En ellas traer la sal y chile y herraje que En la chalupa a de benir de lo q^{al} thenemos todos arta necesidad/lo otro porque nos bamos deteniendo es porã se pueda Reformar la Jente y caualllos de la fatiga del camino ã segun Ellos y nosotros benimos Aunã mas prisa nos ãramos dar no podremos en este pueblo y en otros mas adelante asta llegar a ulibaali pueblo tantas bezes nonbrado por los de soto ãstara segun señalan los yndios çinco o seis leguas de aqui creemos nos allara el cap^{tan} don Xpōbal quando benga con el Recaudo ã de abaxo esperamos.

[105 b] V' quanto a lo que nos pareçe de la tñra y ha lo que a ella Venimos no solamente los que la presente Escriuimos pero todos los ã En el canpo estan son conformes En un pareçer y es ã dexada

the fields which are found and the roads which cross them, we judge that the land is [well] populated. In character these people appear more domestic and probably more easily subjugated, but not to be of the high culture of those down below, for here the men go entirely as naked as when they were born, and in no town have we seen a temple such as those to be found there.

The great fatigue which we endured from the time we took leave of you until we reached Caxiti,⁷³ whence we sent Juan de Porras with the people and the food, you will have heard of already. It continued with us for ten days' march farther because we could not until then find a place to rest. After those ten days we reached a town called [105 r] Onachiqui.⁷⁴ It is, we believe, the first town of Coosa. Here, finding the Indians very different from the preceding ones, for these did not flee from their houses, we remained in this town seven days, where they brought us food to our lodging without our going to search for it, and the towns we have found from there on have done the same thing. Although they do not give us maize in as great abundance as our necessity requires, yet we think it better to conserve the peace by suffering some lack rather than cause war to break out by searching for an abundance.

As it is the end of the year the maize is beginning to become exhausted, therefore we cannot stay in each town as long as we should like. But we stay in each of them as long as possible, and we travel as slowly as we can, first in order not to get too far away from your Lordship until we hear from Juan de Porras, in search of whom Captain Don Cristóbal Ramírez de Arellano sets out to-day with ten men on horseback and six who go on the king's mules. They are to bring back the salt and peppers and the horse-shoes which are to come in the shallop, of all of which we are in dire necessity. The other reason why we move slowly is to rest the people and the horses from the fatigue of the road, for however much haste we may make with ourselves and with them, we cannot [stay] in this town or in others farther on until we reach Ulibaali, the town mentioned so often by Soto's followers, which must be, as the Indians indicate, five or six leagues from here. There we expect that Captain Don Cristóbal will find us when he returns with the supplies we are expecting from below.

[105 v] Regarding how the land to which we have come appears to us and how we like it, not only those of us who are writing the present letter but all who are in the camp are agreed in one

la trãa de talpa cuyo monte es mas claro y suelo de mexor disposi-
 çion y otros algunos pedazos de trãas que ay Entre Esta prouinçia
 y hatache Adonde ay alg^{as} Cauanas pã ganado y buenas begas
 para senbrar lo q^{al} turaua por el cami^o q̃ nosotros truximos asta
 seis leguas no Todo de cabanas ni buena trãa syno que En estas
 seis leg^{as} solam[e]nte bimos çabanas todo lo demas que hemos
 Visto Es trãa muy montuosa y humeda En la q^{al} no se puede criar
 ganado de ning^a suerte ni senbrarse cosa Alguna syn q̃ primero se
 desmonte lo q^{al} parece ynposible por tanto nos parece A todos
 que en lo de asta aqui dexado lo ya dño en ninguna parte se puede
 poblar. estos caualleros q̃ Vinieron con soto y estan agora en este
 canpo dizen q̃ todo lo de coça Es como lo ya uisto nosotros no
 damos testimi^o mas de lo q̃ por vista de oJos sabemos.

V lo que al presente .V.S. deue de hazer es q̃ luego .V.S^a mesmo y
 halg^{os} desos caualleros y capitanes sy alguna muy grande y legi-
 tima causa estoruase la benida de .V.S. salga con la mas xente q̃
 pueda y uenga En nro seguimiento para tres hefetos muy neces-
 rios el Vno que la xente q̃ saliere dara lugar a la que queda y no se
 acauaran tan presto los bastimentos pues a los q̃ salieren En este
 tpo no les puede faltar

[106 a] V El otro para q̃ .V.S. por Vista de oJos bea Esta trãa de
 talpa y hatache y si es tal qual para poblar conbiene Asentar alli
 por q̃ si aquello no contenta de alli Asta donde aora estamos ning^a
 parte Ay donde se pueda poblar el tr^o para que la xente q̃ Viniere
 hagan espalda a los que aca Estamos porq̃ somos tan pocos y esta-
 mos tan m^{al} aparejados q̃ si nos Acometen correremos gran Riesgo
 y podria ser desbergonçarsenos Viendonos tan pocos y sin socorro
 syguese otro efeto de llegar .V.S. a hatache que asta alli puede
 subir lo q̃ es neçesario Al R^{al} en las barcas q̃ por trãa es ynposible
 y de alli aca cada uno poco a poco subira su ato en las Vesti^{as} q̃ de
 carga hubiere Especial.m^{te} q̃ de la paz con estos naturales thene-
 mos se conserua Ellos de pueblo en pueblo nos Ayudaran a subir
 la rropa q̃ por las barcas Viniere porque ansi lo hazen agora con
 nosotros q̃ de su Voluntad y sin mostrar dello pesadunbre nos dan

opinion. This is that, aside from the land of Talpa—the forest of which is more open and the soil of better quality, and some other pieces of ground which are between this province and Atache, where there are some savannas for cattle and good river valleys for planting, which continued along the road we traveled for some six leagues, not all savannas nor good land, but in these six leagues only did we see savannas—all that we have seen is densely forested damp land in which no cattle of any kind at all can be raised, nor can anything be sown without first clearing it, which appears impossible. Hence it seems to us all that no settlement can be made in any of the country which we have, as has been said, left behind us. These gentlemen who came with Soto and are now in this camp say that all of Coosa is just like what we have already seen. We do not swear to this however; but only to what we know from what we have actually seen.

What your Lordship should do at present is that you yourself, or some of those gentlemen and captains, if any great and legitimate reason prevents your Lordship coming, should at once set out with all the people possible and follow our route for three very urgent reasons. The first is in order that the people who set out may give way to those who stay, and the supplies not become so quickly exhausted; for those who set out at this time cannot experience any want.

[106 r] The second is in order that you may with your own eyes see this land of Talpa and Atache and if it is at all suitable to colonize, it would be fitting to make a settlement there. For if that part does not please you, from there to where we are now there is no part at all where any settlement can be made. The third is in order that the people who come may serve as protection to us who are here; for we are so few and so poorly equipped that if [the Indians] attack us we shall run great risk, or it may be that they will cease to have respect for us, seeing us so few and with no support. Another result would be obtained by your coming to Atache, for up to there everything necessary for the camp can be brought up in the barks, though this is impossible by land. From there on to here each man can gradually bring up his provisions by means of the pack animals you may have; especially as with the peace we have with these people, they may be kept from town to town and aid us to bring up the clothing which may be brought on the barks, for they are [serving as carriers] now for us of their own free will, and without reluctance they give us

tamemes Pã lleuar el hato de los de a pie lo q^{al} a sido tanto alibio para el R^{al} q̃ ya la xente de a pie no estaua Pã dar paso Adelante quando se buelbuen los yndios les damos algun rrescate con lo q^{al} ban muy contentos.

V^r mientras .V.S. llega atache nosotros beremos todo lo q̃ Resta de ber En coça y si hubiere cosa q̃ Pã poblar conbenga esta .V.S. en muy buen paraje para que de presto lo podamos hazer sauer por bia de los yndios que hasta alli hiran de bu^a gana y podremosenos muy En brebe Juntar aora sea .V.S. subido donde [106 b] nosotros Estamos y hubiere oportunidad para el poblar agora sea baxar donde .V. S. Esta no la auiendo aunque la xente desta trãra mucha esta de paz no tienen en sus casas sus mujeres y rropa por lo q^{al} tememos q̃ Coxidos los maizes ellos tambien se an de poner en cobro por tanto es menester d. V.S. gran prisa a la benida porq̃ antes que ellos los coxan estemos nosotros En parte q̃ nos podamos pbeer para el año q̃ Viene espeçialmente que a la xente q̃ .V.S. consigo traxere conuiene sauer luego porque hallen de comer En el canpo por q̃ detenerse mucho podrian berse En el aprieto de la hanbre q̃ nosotros nos Vimos esta toda la xente deste rr^{al} en estrema necesidad de caçado de lo qual ya todos careçemos y de sal y chile y herraje y otras cosas syn las q^{ales} se pasa mal Esta bida .V.S^a sea seruido de mandar sean estas neçesidades probeidas lo mas brebe q̃ sea posible por la bia ya dña pues El ynbierno es en Esta trãra tan cruel que ay tan mal aparejo para le osar esperar y los trauajos que en serui^o de su m^{ag}. y de .V.S^a estos caualleros y soldados an padeçido mereçen muy bien se tenga con ellos Esta quenta.

V^r Escrita esta y determinada la ida del capitan don Xpõbal nos pareçio hera Justo enbiar a V. S. Relaçion Entera q̃ se sobreseyese la ida asta llegar a coça de apica asta coça ay alguna mexoria de trãra que la de asta aqui. Ansi ser la trãra mas poblada y en algunas partes el monte mas claro [107 a] Como los naturales de mexor Disistion [*sic: dispusicion?*] porque sienpre nos an dado tamemes y de comer al pareçer con poca pesadumbre. A diez y seis dias que llegamos a este asiento de coça donde allamos Al caçique y toda su xente En sus casas syn hazer mudança ninguna de alçar comida

people to carry the supplies of those who march on foot. This has been a great relief to the camp, for those on foot were no longer able to take a step forward. When the Indians go back we give them some trifle, with which they go away well content.

While you are coming to Atache we will examine all that remains to be seen of Coosa, and if there is any part which is suitable for a settlement, you [will be] in a very good place for us to give you very prompt information about it by means of the Indians, who will go that far very willingly; then we can very quickly join each other, be it by your coming up to where [106 v] we are and where there may be opportunity to settle, or be it by our going down to where you are if there is none. Although the people of this land are very peaceable, they do not keep their women and clothing in their houses, wherefore we fear that when they have gathered their corn they will also themselves go into hiding. Hence it is needful that you make haste to come, so that before they reap their crops we may be in a place where we can provision ourselves for next year. Especially is it necessary [for us] to know at once about the people whom you may bring with you, so that they may find provisions in the camp; for if you delay a long time they might find themselves in the extremity of hunger as all we people of this camp now find ourselves in extreme need of shoes—which we are all now without—and of salt, peppers, horse-shoes, and other things without which one passes this life badly. Your Lordship will be pleased to order that these necessities be provided as soon as possible in the manner already indicated, for the winter is very cruel in this country, there is very bad equipment with which to venture to await it, and the hardships which these gentlemen and soldiers have endured in the service of his Majesty and your Lordship very well deserve that you should keep this obligation to them in mind.

After this letter had been written and the departure of Captain Don Cristóbal decided upon, it seemed right to us to send you a complete account and to defer his departure until we should reach Coosa. Between Apica and Coosa there is some improvement in the land over that up to here, also the country is more thickly settled and the forest in some parts less dense; [107 r] the natives are of better disposition, for they have always given us carriers and food apparently with little reluctance. We reached this settlement of Coosa in sixteen days. Here we found the chief and all his people in their houses, and they made no move to take away their

ni mujeres Como sy hantes de agora huuieran conbersado y tratado con nosotros Aposentamonos en vna çabaneta Vn tiro o dos de arcabuz del pueblo aqui nos proueen de lo neçesario digo de maiz y frisoles y otras cosillas q̃ se rrescatan Es tan buen yndio este a lo que muestra q̃ Con todos los españoles se huelga y muestra buena boluntad la rraçion q̃ nos da para cada dia Es a casyco de maiz para cada español y cauallo Serui^{os} no se les da Raçion porq̃ son pocos Eçeto algunos q̃ traen serui^o doblado Con estos se tiene alg^a q^{ta} de dalles de quando En quando Raçion p̃a ellos y tambien Ayelotes y calabaças que suplen su parte de manera q̃ Vendito n̄ro señor no thenemos necesidad de comida ni aun la esperamos thener/Açerca de la poblacion nos pareçe q̃ la t̄r̄a no es tan aparejada como pensamos pareçe muy montuosa y porq̃ lo bu^o della tienen ocupado los yndios y si se hobiese de poblar seria forçoso tomarles sus t̄r̄as ansi q̃ Para esto y para lo demas Conui^e a .V.S. benga o mande lo q̃ se a de hazer porq̃ puesto caso q̃ los naturales se aya Visto apareJo P̃a hazer fruto en ellos es la t̄r̄a tan pobre y de tan pocas granxerias que Entendemos poderse m^{al} sustentar [107 b] En ella Ansi q̃ Para la determinacion Dello se terna cuidado de buscar y enquirir si ay cosa q̃ Conbenga al serui^o de dios y de Su ma^g buscar sea de manera q̃ se cunpla lo q̃ .V.S. manda estos yndios berdaderamente les somos A cargo en lo q̃ hemos bisto asta agora porq̃ si son menester Veinte yndios o treinta o diez P̃a hazer algun Rancho o casa los dan y muestran en esto bu^a boluntad/pareçe ser çiertos yndios hauerles Entrado En sus t̄r̄as y en pedirselas y husurparselas y sobre Esto hazerles molestias y bexaciones y ocuparles los caminos y quitarles la comunicacion de sus propios naturales y estorbarles el contratarse y comunicarse y sobre esto saltarles En los caminos y otras muchas molestias pidieronnos q̃ pues ellos heran n̄ros Amigos y nos dauan de lo q̃ tenian y se hauian puesto debaxo del anparo del Rey don felipe n̄ro señor les diesemos fauor y hayuda para que aquellos yndios no les ynpidiesen la comunicacion y trato y el con-

food or women, as if they had talked and had dealings with us before this. We took up our lodging in a small savanna one or two arquebus shots' distance from the town. Here they provide us with necessities—I mean corn, beans, and other little things for which we barter. They are apparently such good Indians that they are at ease with all the Spaniards, and show good will. The ration which they give us for each day is a *casycó*⁷⁵ of corn for each Spaniard and horse. The servants are given no ration because they are few, except in the cases of some who have a double number of servants. With these there is an arrangement to give them a ration now and then for the servants. There are also roasting ears and pumpkins, which have their place; so that, blessed be our Lord, there is no lack of food, nor do we even expect to lack it. As to making a settlement, it appears to us that the country is not as well suited for it as we thought. It seems very densely forested, and inasmuch as the Indians have the good part of it occupied, if a settlement were to be made it would be imperative to take their lands from them. So for this reason and for others it is desirable that you come or send orders as to what is to be done. For even though the natives have been observed to be so disposed that they can be utilized profitably, the country is so poor and with such scant opportunities for gainful pursuits that we think it would be difficult to maintain ourselves [107 v] in it. Also in deciding the matter care should be taken to search and inquire whether there is anything useful for the service of God and his Majesty; and it must be sought in such a way as to fulfil what your Lordship commands. We are really deeply indebted to these Indians as far as we have seen up to the present; for if twenty or thirty or ten Indians are needed to build a camp or a house they give them, showing good will in the matter. It seems that certain [other] Indians have entered their lands, demanded them and usurped them, and in so doing have caused them injuries and vexations. They have occupied the roads of these natives and cut off their communications with their own related groups, preventing trade and communication between them; moreover, they have attacked them on the roads and given them many other troubles. [These Indians] asked us, as they were our friends, had given us of whatever they had, and had placed themselves under the protection of the king, Don Felipe our lord, that we would show them favor and aid so that those other Indians should not prevent their communication, trade, and intercourse thus with

bersarse así con su propio señor natural como por estas causas dexauan ni mas ni menos de uenirnos a seruir y ha contratarnos q̃ les Aseguramos los caminos y pasos y que En esto querian conoçer sy tratábamos con ellos amistad y berdad así q̃ Para esto y para lo demas nos Juntasemos a dar a .V. señoria Relaçion de todo a nos parecido es Justo darles fauor y ayuda y en esta determinacion estamos Resumidos por muchas causas que a ello nos mueben y V. señoria Entendera mejor Tanbine Entendemos estar Esta tr̃ra en buena comarca de poblaciones y por [108 a] que sy El capitan don cristoual llegare Adonde V.S.^a esta podra V.S. del ynformarse de lo q̃ mas V.S. quisiere porq̃ podra dar a .V.S. Relaçion como testigo de bista la Jente y cauillos esta buena Aun que los unos y los otros careçen de calçado .V.S.^a lo probea por q̃s bien menester.

ff^a V^o n̄ro señor la muy Ill^e persona de .V. señoria guarde y en mior estado aumente como sus seruidores deseamos //De coça primero de agosto del año de mill y qui^os y sesenta años muy Ill^e señor besamos las manos A .V. señoria sus seruidores.

FRAY DOMINGO DE LA ANUNCIACION.

MATEO DEL SAUZ.

DON XPōBAL RAMIREZ DE ARELLANO.

DON ALONSO DE CASTILLA.

GONçALO SANCHEZ DE AGUILAR.

ALUARO NIETO.

R^o BAZQUEZ.

[FRAY DOMINGO DE LA ANUNCIACION Y OTROS A VELASCO, COSA PRIMERO DE AGOSTO DE 1560]

V^o Este es Vn treslado Vien y fielmente sacado de Vna carta oreginal q̃l muy R^{do} padre fray domingo de la Anunçiaçion y los capitanes mateo del saz don Xpōbal Ramirez de arellano don alonso de castilla Gonçalo sanchez de aguilar Aluaro nieto Rodrigo bazquez escribieron Al Ill^{mo} señor Visrrey de la nueva españa desde la p^obinçia de coça A primero de agosto del año de sesenta su tenor de la qual de berbun ad berbun es este q̃ se sigue.

V^o Al Ill^{mo} señor don luis de belasco Visrrey y gouernador y capitan general de la nueva españa etc mi señor

their own natural lord. For precisely these reasons had they come to serve us and trade with us, so that we might preserve to them the use of the roads and passes. In this connection they wanted to know whether we were going to deal with them in friendship and truth. So for this reason and for the others we decided to join together to give your Lordship a report of everything. It has appeared to us right to give them favor and help, in which we are influenced by many causes which move us thereto, which your Lordship will realize better. We also understand that this land is in a good district for towns, and if [108 r] Captain Don Cristóbal arrives where you are you may inform yourself from him concerning whatever you may desire, for he can give you an account as an eyewitness. The people and the horses are well, although both are unshod. Will you not provide [shoes] for they are indeed essential?

Date.

May our Lord guard and give greater increase to the very illustrious person of your Lordship, as we your servants desire. Coosa, August 1, 1560. Illustrious sir, your servants kiss your Lordship's hands.

FRAY DOMINGO DE LA ANUNCIACIÓN.

MATEO DEL SAUZ.

DON CRISTÓBAL RAMÍREZ DE ARELLANO.

DON ALONSO DE CASTILLA.

GONZALO SÁNCHEZ DE AGUILAR.

ÁLVARO NIETO.

RODRIGO VÁZQUEZ.

[FRAY DOMINGO DE LA ANUNCIACIÓN AND OTHERS TO VELASCO,
COOSA, AUGUST 1, 1560]

This is a copy well and faithfully made of the original letter which the very reverend father, Fray Domingo de la Anunciación, and captains Mateo del Sauz, Don Cristóbal Ramírez de Arellano, Don Alonso de Castilla, Gonzalo Sánchez de Aguilar, Álvaro Nieto, and Rodrigo Vázquez wrote to the very illustrious viceroy of New Spain from the province of Coosa, August 1, 1560, the tenor of which is word for word as follows:

To the very illustrious Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy, governor, and captain-general of New Spain, and my lord:

III^{mo} señor.

otra carta de las
personas q̄ era la
otra escripta a don
luis de Velasco
Virrey de la nueva
españa

Con ninguna cosa pensamos poder corresponder a lo q̄ debemos [108 b] Al serui^o de V. señoria todos los que en esta tr̄ra estamos mas q̄ Con hazer una sumaria y berdadera Relaçion de todo lo q̄ en ella emos Visto y Juntamente lo q̄ della nos pareze y porq̄ las Relaçiones echas de cada uno en particular por mas berdaderas q̄ sean no pueden dexar de discordar en alg^a cosa por ser tan barios los pareceres y Juiçios q̄ de Vna mesma cosa muchos tienen por eVitar esto y por q̄ V.S. q̄de m^{as} satisfecho Acordamos de nos Juntar los q̄ la presente escribimos y servir a V. señoria con esto pues con otra cosa no podemos.

V^o por las cartas q̄ En la barca .V. señoria desta tr̄ra Reçiuió Abra sauido como por mandado del señor gouernador salimos de nani-pacana a esta jornada de coça lo uno por p^obeer al rr^{al} de alguna comida q̄ ya auia gran necesidad y se esperaba m̄ior lo otro por hallar alguna parte donde poder hazer alguna poblaçion pues que En lo Visto asta alli no la hauia.

V^o salimos con este yntento segundo dia de pascua de rresureçion q̄ se contaron quince de habril deste presente año y pensando Allar A tres o quatro jornadas comida de la qual salimos muy faltos por no la hauer en el rr^{al} Andubimos quarenta y tres dias syn que en todos ellos pudiesemos hallar maiz Pã dar a los caualllos y nosotros estubimos muchos dias q̄ no lo comiamos manteniendonos con algunas yerbas y carcamoras q̄ ya comencaban A madurar y halgunas nuezes y bellotas de Robles que sino se aderezan Como los yndios lo saben de muy amargas no se pueden comer.

[109 a] A los quarenta dias que de alla salimos Reçiuiimos Vna del gouernador por bia de vnos yndios amigos por la q^{al} Supimos la gran necesidad de hanbre en q̄ todo el R^{al} Estaua puesto syn esperar otro Rem^o sy[no] el de Dios y de V. señoria y como este auia de ser por mar temiamos no se detubiese mas de lo que abaxo pudiesen sufrir fue n̄ro señor seruido que a la sazón que la carta Vino auiamos dado en Vn poco de maiz que los yndios tenían escondido y aunq̄ teniamos dello la necesidad que la hanbre pasada nos Auia puesto determinamos socorrer con ello A los q̄ pensabamos estar puestos en mior neçesidad y hansi con dos o tres canoas que En el rrío hallamos y vn^{as} Valsas q̄ de cañas y maderas se hizieron

Most Illustrious Sir:

We do not think that we can in any way comply with our duty [108 v] to your Lordship, all we who are in this land, better than by giving a summary and true relation of all that we have seen in it together with what we think of it. But since accounts given by each one in detail, however true they may be, cannot help disagreeing in something, since the opinions and judgments of many persons about one and the same thing are so divergent, we have agreed, in order to avoid this divergence, that we who are writing the present letter shall unite [in this account] thus serving your Lordship, for there is nothing else we can do.

From the letters your Lordship received by the bark sent from this country you will have learned how by command of the governor we set out from Nanipacana on this journey to Coosa, first, to provide the camp with some food, of which there was already great necessity and greater want was anticipated, and second, to find some place where a settlement could be made, for in the territory until then seen there was none such.

We set out for this purpose on the second day of the feast of Easter, which was April 15 of this present year.⁷⁶ We thought to find food, with which we set out very scantily supplied as there was little in the camp, within three or four days' march; but we went for forty-three days without being able to find any corn to give the horses, and there were many days on which we ate none ourselves. We sustained ourselves on some herbs and blackberries which were beginning to ripen, some nuts and oak acorns which, if not prepared as the Indians know how to do, are too bitter to eat.

[109 r] Forty days after we had set out from there we received a letter from the governor through some friendly Indians, from which we learned of the great straits from hunger in which all the camp was placed, without any hope of relief except from God and your Lordship. As this would have to come by sea, we were afraid it might be delayed in coming for a time longer than those below could hold out. It pleased our Lord that at the time the letter came we had chanced upon a little corn which the Indians were keeping hidden away, and although we felt the need of it which our past hunger had given us, we decided to use it to aid those we thought to be in greater need. And so, with two or three canoes which we found in the river, and some rafts which we made of canes and wood, we sent about thirty-five or forty fanegas of

Another letter, from the persons who wrote the foregoing one, addressed to Don Luis de Velasco, viceroy of New Spain.

enbiamos Asta treynta y çinco o quarenta hanegas de maiz y seis honbres q̃ las llebasen de cuyo suceso ning^a cosa hemos sauido.

- ✓ Despedidos los que en las balsas yban Andubimos otras diez u doze Jornadas con poco menos trabaxo que hasta alli al cabo de las q^{ales} dimos en los primeros pueblos de coça adonde por nos Reçiuir los yndios de buena boluntad y darnos de comer syn yrlo nosotros a rranchear como Asta alli auiamos echo Con gran trauajo y rriesgo de n^{ras} personas A causa destar todos los pueblos de atras alçados y la comida escondida descansamos de los trauajos pasados y se Reformo la xente y caualllos tardamos en llegar A este primer pueblo de coça q̃ se llama onachiqui çinq^{ta} y siete di^{as} [109 b] y segun las Jornadas que en este t^{po} Andubimos creemos abra de cami^o de nobenta a çien leguas andanse En esta t^{rra} los cami^{os} con mas trauajo que en otras que asta aqui se an descubierto porque alliende de la falta de comida que asta aqui emos tenido en todas las entradas q̃ se an echo el yr la jente de a pie cargada de ato y comida y sus arm^{as} es cosa q̃ m^{as} se siente.

- ✓ Los trauajos que En esta y las dem^{as} entradas todos hemos padeçido por ser fruta de t^{rra} nueba no nos espanta ni ay Pã q̃ los poner aqui pues en los hauer pasado en serui^o de dios y del Rey n^{ro} señor y por mandado de .V.S^a estamos muy contentos y determinados a padezerlos m^{iores} por la mesma causa.

- ✓ La xente desta t^{rra} de coça nos pareçe esta mas segura y confia de nosotros q̃ todos los de atras aunque no tanto q̃ dexe de poner sus haziendas y muxeres en cobro y ellos con alg^{as} mujeres de serui^o aguardan en sus pueblos y nos traen de comer A n^{ro} AloXami^{to} q̃ ordinariamente nos aloxamos algo apartados de los pueblos porque los caualllos y halguna xente desmandada no dañen los maizales y halboroten a ellos no nos dan la comida con tanta Abundancia qu^{to} n^{ra} necesidad lo rrequiere mas tenemos por mejor padeçiendo algunas necesidades conseruar la paz q̃ por buscar Abundancia Ronper la guerra.

- ✓ Contenporiçando desta manera con todos los pueblos q̃ de paz nos salian A rreçiuir dexandolos por muy amigos n^{ros} llegamos Al pueblo de coça donde Reside el señor della pasados tres meses q̃ de nanipacana auiamos salido Reçibionos este yndio Al pareçer de

corn with six men to take it; but we have heard nothing of the result.

After saying goodbye to those who went on the rafts, we went on for another ten or twelve days' journey with somewhat less trouble than we had had up to that point. At the end of that time we came upon the first towns of Coosa. There the Indians received us with good will, and gave us food without our having to go and forage for it as we had done up to that time at great trouble and danger to our persons, for all the towns behind us had been deserted and the food had been hidden. We rested from our hardships endured, and the men and the horses were recuperated. We were fifty-seven days in reaching this first town of Coosa, which is called Onachiqui, [109 v] and according to the days' marches which we made in this time we believe the road to be from ninety to one hundred leagues long. The roads are traveled with more difficulty in this country than in others previously discovered, for, besides the dearth of food which we have experienced until now in all the expeditions which have been made, the thing which has been most keenly felt is that the men have had to travel on foot loaded with their equipment and rations, and arms.

The hardships we have all endured on this and other expeditions, being the natural expectation in a new country, neither terrify us nor is there any point in setting them down here, for we are very happy to have passed through them in the service of God and the king our lord and at your Lordship's command, and are determined to suffer greater ones in the same cause.

The people of this land of Coosa seem to us to be more peaceful and to confide in us more than all those we have left behind, though they are not so confident as to neglect to put their property and women in safety, while they wait for us in their towns with a few serving women and bring us food to our quarters. Ordinarily we camp somewhat apart from the towns, lest the horses or any uncontrolled persons injure the cornfields or raise a commotion among the inhabitants. They do not give us food in as great abundance as our need requires, but we think best to preserve the peace by suffering a little want rather than to bring on war by seeking abundance.

Temporizing thus with all the towns which came out to meet us in peace, and leaving them very good friends of ours, three months after we had left Nanipacana we arrived at the town of Coosa, where the lord of the country resides. This Indian received us with

muy buena voluntad y dio a entender se holgaba [110 a] con nra Venida y haviendole declarado a lo q̃ Veniamos por lengu^{as} q̃ nosotros traemos se dio por nro Amigo y q̃ se sometia deVaxo del Anparo del Rey nro Señor.

V La disposiçion y calidad de la tñra A lo menos de lo q̃ nosotros emos andado q̃ por dibersas partes seran mas de doçientas leguas muy en brebe se puede hazer dello Relaçion.

V Es esta tñra Comunmente llana Aunque no dexa de hauer alg^{os} cerros no muy altos y en ellos arta piedra y cascaxo de lo q^{al} dezian careçer esta tñra muy montuosa y de muy gran cantidad de arroyos y de muchos caudales Rios por lo qual Viene a ser de muchas çienegas y muy humeda los arboles desta tñra son los mas pinos Robles nogales y castaños y destos esta la tñra llena Avnq̃ tambien Ay otras algunas diferençias a las Riber^{as} de los Rios emos bisto pocas frutas porq̃ sino son nuezes q̃ destas ay en cantidad Aunq̃ muy encarceladas y algunas pocas castañas Aunq̃ peñas y pocas no deben nada a las despaña En este camino de coça hemos hallado muy gran cantidad de carçamoras aunq̃ no tantas como alla nos dezian Tanuien Emos Visto çiruelas y habellanas pero Como no An aun madurado no sabemos q̃ tales son. El tenple desta tñra es ser destenplada con extremo de calor y frio en las aguas no se guarda tpo porq̃ tambien llueue agora como por el ynbierno.

V es la xente desta tñra de buena disposiçion y gestos y para estar en tñra fria tienen el color tan moreno como los de halla su habito es el q̃ les dio naturaleza eçeto en las mujeres se ponen Vn^{as} [110 b] mantillas echas de hilo de rraizes de moral anchas Como dos palmos conque se tapan las berguenças biben todos Juntos en pueblos pequeños porque asta agora ning^o emos Visto q̃ llegue A çiento y çinquenta casas y muy pocos q̃ suban de quarenta o çinquenta. tienen casas de ynbierno y de berano las de ynbierno estan todas cubiertas de tñra q̃ sienbran en ellas lo que quieren Ay en todos los pueblos Vna buena plaça fuera del pueblo y en ella Vn palo como Rollo despaña muy alto el q^{al} tienen para sus Juegos Ay alg^{os} pueblos çercados de Vn^{as} albarradas tan altas como Vn estado aunque Entre ellos debe de ser algo pero no es cosa de

apparent great good will, and gave us to understand that he was delighted [110 *r*] at our arrival; and when we declared, through interpreters whom we had brought, the purpose for which we had come, he announced himself our friend and submitted himself to the protection of the king our lord.

The character and quality of this country, at least of that part over which we have traveled, which taking in all the area traversed must be something over two hundred leagues, may be described very briefly.

The country is generally flat though it is not without a few not very high hills, on which there are plenty of stones and gravel, which we were told were not to be found here. It is very densely forested, with many creeks and many copious rivers, from which it comes to have numerous swamps and to be very humid. The trees of this country are mostly pines, oaks, walnuts, and chestnuts; of these the land is full, although there are some different ones along the banks of the rivers. We have seen very few fruits, but there are walnuts in great quantity although with very hard shells. There are a few chestnuts which though small and few are not inferior to those of Spain. On this road to Coosa we have found great quantities of blackberries, though not so many as they told us down there. We have also seen plums and hazel-nuts, but as they are not yet ripe we do not know how good they are. The climate of this country is unequal, with extremes of heat and cold. The rains do not come at fixed times, for it rains now as well as in winter.

The people in this country have good constitutions and appearance; although they live in a cool country they have as brown a color as those down there. Their dress is what nature gave them, except that the women wear [110 *v*] kirtles made of thread from mulberry roots; they are about two palms wide and with them they cover their privy parts. They all live together in little towns, for so far we have seen none which contains as many as one hundred and fifty houses, and very few which number above forty or fifty. They have winter and summer houses. The winter houses are all covered with earth, and they sow whatever they like over them. All the towns have a good-sized plaza outside the town, in which there is a pole like the *rollo*⁷⁷ of Spain; they are very tall, and they have them for their sports. There are some towns inclosed by a pair of walls as high as a man's stature, and although there must be something between them yet it is of no value [for defense]. There

ningun tomo Ay En algunos pueblos tenplos pero tan Ruinmente echos y tan poco frequentados q^{to} es Ruin la rrelision que en ellos p̃fesan.

V estan todas las poblaciones que ay En esta tr̃ra en las rriberas de los Rios porq̃ todo lo demas es tan montuoso q̃ por ning^a Via se puede abitar y esta es la causa q̃ segun creemos Ay tan poca xente en esta tr̃ra por que aun la que ay tienen las tr̃ras muy limitadas porque sino es lo que al derredor de los pueblos ay desconbrado todo lo demas Arroga el monte Arriba q̃da dño como la prinçipal causa porq̃ de nanipacana salimos fue a buscar Vn sityo q̃ tubiese las condiçiones q̃ su maḡ. manda y V.S. Ill^{mo}. en su rr^{al} nonbre abra desde coça donde agora estamos asta nanipacana donde salimos çiento y Veinte y çinco o çiento y treinta leguas en todo lo qual no hemos Visto sitio alguno donde poblaçion despañoles se pueda hazer aunq̃ quisiesemos echar de sus casas a los naturales por causa que la tr̃ra desconbrada es tan poca que aun para los mismos naturales no basta por manera que [111 a] ganado de ninguna suerte se puede en ella criar para p̃becho de su dueño syn lo q^{al} y sin otros aprobechami^{os} de q̃sta tr̃ra careçe ya V. señoria bee como la xente española puede bibir.

V Esta Proui^A de coça es algo mexorada en la tr̃ra y monte y mucho m^{as} poblada que quanto atr^{as} q̃da ay Vna syerra al norte del pu^o q̃ se corre leste hueste Vien alta y montuosa cuyo prinçipio y fin hasta agora no sabemos. esta este pueblo Asentado a la rribera de dos rrios peq̃ños que En el se juntan ay alderredor del algunas buenas çabanas y una bega Vien poblada de yndios adonde syenbran todo lo que An de comer salidos de aqui Es todo lo demas monte.

V Por no hauer thenido nuevas desde q̃ salimos de nanipacana del señor gouernador ni saber si las balsas y canoas que con maiz les ynbiarnos llegaron a salbamento estamos en alg^a confusion por lo q^{al} acordamos de ynuiar al cap.^{tan} don Xpōbal con doze honbres de cauallo asta el lugar donde despedimos las canoas y si alli no tubiere alg^a notiçia como con los q̃ fueron q̃do conçertado llegara asta nanipacana y dara q^{ta} al gouernador de todo lo que asta aqui hemos Visto.

V no lleba consigo mas Jente el cap^{tan} don xpōbal Aunq̃ P̃a tan largo

are temples in some of the towns, but they are as rudely constructed and as little frequented as is uncouth the religion which they practice in them.

All the towns that there are in this country are on the banks of the rivers, for all the rest is so densely wooded that it can by no means be inhabited; this, we think, is the reason there are so few people in this country, for even those who are here have very limited tracts of land; except that which is cleared around the towns, all the rest is claimed by the forest. The principal reason why we left Nanipacana was, as said above, to search for a site possessing the conditions which his Majesty and you in his royal name command. There must be from Coosa where we now are, to Nanipacana where we started, one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty leagues, and in all of this we have seen no location where a settlement of Spaniards could be made, even though we might be willing to turn the natives out of their houses, for the reason that the cleared land is so scant that it does not even suffice for the natives themselves. So that [111 r] no cattle of any kind can be raised here to the owner's profit, without which and other sources of gain that this country lacks, your Lordship may readily see how the Spanish people could [not] live.

This province of Coosa is somewhat better as regards the land and the forest, and much more densely populated than any we have left behind. There is a mountain range to the north of the town, which runs east and west. It is fairly high and well-wooded, but up to this time we do not know where it begins or ends. This town is situated on the banks of two small rivers which unite within it. Around the town there are some good savannas, and a valley well peopled with Indians where they plant all that they raise to eat. After one leaves here all the rest is forest.

As we have had no news from the governor since we left Nanipacana, and as we know not whether the rafts and canoes which we sent laden with corn arrived safely or not, we are in some uncertainty; we have therefore agreed to send Captain Don Cristóbal with twelve men on horses to the place where we took leave of the canoes, and if he obtains there no news of how it fared with those who went [in them], it has been concerted that he shall go as far as Nanipacana and give the governor an account of all we have so far seen.

Captain Don Cristóbal is not taking more people with him—

camio y por trñra de henemigos es muy poca porque todos somos tan pocos q̃ si la necesidad no fuera tan hurgente no se sufria Repar-
tornos porq̃ no salimos del rr^{al} m^{as} de quarenta honbres de a
cauallo y çiento de a pie y destos nos faltan treze q̃ del cami^o
fueron al rre^{al} y dos o tres cauallos q̃ se an muerto.

[111 b] V nosotros escribimos al gouernador otra firmada de nros
nonbres en la q^{al} le damos q^{ta} de lo de Asta aqui y que nos ynbie
a mandar lo q̃ fuere seruido que hagamos creemos q̃ por ser tanta
la distançia y malos caminos como ay de aqui adonde esta el
gouernador q^{do} nos bengamos a Juntar no sera ya tpo de poder
caminar asta q̃ se pase el ynbierno en este comedio terna ya .V.
señoria notiçia de todo lo que aca ay y nos podra ynbiar a mandar
lo q̃ fuere seruido que hagamos por que aunque en esta jornada se
nos a acauado el calçado q̃ truximos no se nos acauara la boluntad
q̃ de servir a .V.S^a. Ill^{ma} thenemos.

V Lo que mientras sabemos nuevas de abaxo pensamos hazer es
buscar Vn buen sytio donde ynbernar y p^obeernos Alli de comida
por no bernos en la neçesidad q̃l Año pasado. gu^e nro señor la
ff^o Ill^{ma} persona de V. señoria y en mior estado acreçiente de coça
primero de agosto de mill y qui^{os} y sesenta a^{os} besamos las manos
a .V.S.^a Ill^{ma}

Fray DOMINGO DE LA ANUNÇIACION.

MATEO DEL SAZ.

Don XPōBAL RAMIREZ DE ARELLANO.

Don AL^o DE CASTILLA.

G^o SANCHEZ DE AGUILAR.

ALUARO NIETO.

R^o BAZQUEZ.

V es fecha y sacada corregida y conçertada con el dño oreginal en
este puerto de santamaria de ochus a primero de diçienbre de mill
y qui^{os} y sesenta años t^{os} q̃ fueron presentes a lo ber corregir con
el dño oreginal sancho Velez y di^o de leon y gr^{mo} R^es en fee de lo
q̃al yo juan de bargas escribano mior destas dhas prouinçias lo
firme de mi n^e q̃s ha tal en testimi^o de berdad

JU^o DE BARGAS

escribano mior.

although for such a long road through enemy country they are very few—because we are altogether so few that if the need were not so urgent we would not allow ourselves to be divided; for when we set out from the camp we were not more than forty men on horseback and one hundred on foot, and of these we now lack thirteen who left the road and went to the main camp, and two or three horses that have died.

[111 v] We are writing to the governor another letter signed with our names, in which we give account of everything up to this time, and ask him to send to command what he wishes us to do. We believe that, because the distance is so great and the roads as bad as they are between here and where the governor is, when we are reunited it will no longer be the season in which we can march until the winter passes. During this interval your Lordship will receive notice of everything there is here, and may send to command us what you wish us to do. For although we have on this march worn out all the shoes we brought, we have not outworn the good will we have to serve your most illustrious Lordship.

What we think of doing until we receive news from below is to find a good place in which to pass the winter and provide ourselves there with food in order not to see ourselves in the same want as last year. May our Lord guard the most illustrious person of your Lordship, and give you increase in your condition. Dated at Coosa, August 1, 1560. We kiss your most illustrious Lordship's hands.

Date.

FRAY DOMINGO DE LA ANUNCIACIÓN.

MATEO DEL SAZ.⁷⁸

DON CRISTÓBAL RAMÍREZ DE ARELLANO.

DON ALONSO DE CASTILLA.

GONZALO SÁNCHEZ DE AGUILAR.

ÁLVARO NIETO.

RODRIGO VÁZQUEZ.

Made, copied, corrected, and compared with the original in this port of Santa María de Ochuse on December 1, 1560. Witnesses who were present to see it corrected by the original, Sancho Vélez, Diego de León, and Guillermo Rodríguez. In witness whereof I, Juan de Vargas, chief notary of these provinces, signed it with my name, as appears below in attestation of the truth.

JUAN DE VARGAS,

Chief notary.

[FRAY DOMINGO SALAZAR A NAVARRO, COSA, 31 (?) DE JULIO DE 1560]

[112 a] V Al amantisymo señor fran^{co} nauarro En nanipacana

V Amantisymo señor. iñuxpo nño señor sea syenpre con V.m. por preuenir las ñxas q̃ V.m. auia de [t]hener de mi syno escribiera esta me dispuse a la escribir mas q̃ por necesidad q̃ Ubiese pues lo q̃ yo puedo dezir por Relaçion de los q̃ Van se sabra y otras cosas quellos no diran no ay Pã q̃ yo las dezir.

V habra segun aora creemos de aqui a nanipacana çiento y veinte o çiento y treinta leguas la tñra toda que hemos Visto es como la que alla been y en partes peor y en pocas mexor no se a uisto en todo lo Visto lugar para poder poblar españoles Aunque les quitasemos a los naturales sus propias tñ^{as} estos yndios de coça estan de muy buena boluntad y nos dan lo que hemos menester y hazen lo que les mandamos de buena gana y con alegria gran lastima me haze Ver q̃ Jente de tan Buena boluntad no este En parte donde pueda ser enseñada aunq̃ segun son grandes los secretos de Dios por donde hombre menos piensa se Encaminan los neg^{os} la lengua es otra muy diferente y mas dificultosa Aunq̃ tienen alg^{os} bocablos de alla. Andan todos desnudos como naçieron syno Es las mujeres que andan A Vso de las de alla la xente esta buena de salud y muy destrocada y m^altratada del cami^o y de fuera del estan muy descontentos de la tñra y se mueren en dezir que an de Estar en ella rremediolo el señor q̃ puede Alla escriben estos caualleros Juntos al gouernador el bera lo q̃ le cunple Vna carta [112 b] Espero de .V.m. tan largo como esta es corta Aun q̃ mejor sera q̃ nos beamos y sino nos Vieremos escribame largo como esta el señor gouernador con los demas caualleros capitanes como les a ido alla y quienes fueron a la nueba españa y quienes se an muerto como estan los p^{es} y q̃ nuebas ay del p^e bicario y si ser puede no dexe de benirnos a ber q̃ poco se arriesga al señor Juan muñoz de cayas dara nñas saludes y V.m. y el Reciban las del p^e fray domingo y no lescribo porq̃ me pareçe q̃ Vasta esta pues saue ya quan pocos cunplimi^{os} tengo donde no ay mas q̃ solo cunplir. estamos buenos el p^e fray domingo y yo aunq̃ muy cansados y fatigados no m^as syno q̃l señor cuyos somos haga de nosotros

ff^o Como de cosa suya Amen//de coça fin de Julio de mill y qui^{os} y

[FRAY DOMINGO SALAZAR TO NAVARRO, COOSA, JULY 31[?] 1560]

[112 r] To the very gentle Francisco Navarro in Nanipacana.

Most Amiable Sir: Jesus Christ our Lord be always with you. I set about writing this to forefend the complaints you would make against me if I should not, rather than because of any necessity which might exist; for all that I can say by way of an account you will learn from those who are going, and other things they will not tell there is no reason for me to tell.

There must be, as we now think, one hundred and twenty or one hundred and thirty leagues between here and Nanipacana. All the country we have seen is like that seen there, in some parts worse in a few places better. There has not been found in all that we have seen any place where Spaniards could settle even though we should take the Indians' own lands away from them. These Indians of Coosa are of very good disposition; they give us what we need and do what we command them very willingly and with joy. It gives me great pain to see that people of such good will are not in a place where they might be taught, although the secrets of God are so great that affairs are directed whither man least expects. The language is another one, very different and more difficult, although they have some words from there. They all go as naked as they were born except the women, who dress according to the custom of those there. Our people are in good health but broken and worn by the journey. Besides, they are very discontented with the country, and it kills them to tell them they will have to stay in it. May the Lord remedy it as he may. These gentlemen are writing together there to the governor, who will see what is his duty. I am hoping for a letter [112 v] from you as long as this one is short, although it would be better if we could see each other; but if we do not meet, write me at length how the governor is and the rest of the gentlemen and captains; how it has gone with them there; who went to New Spain; who have died; how the fathers are, and what news there is of the father vicar; and if it is possible do not fail to come to see us, for there is little danger. Give Juan Muñoz de Zayas our salutations, and do you and he receive those of Father Fray Domingo. I do not write to him because this letter seems to me enough, for he already knows how few gifts I possess, and in this I do nothing but fulfil my duty. Father Fray Domingo and I are well, though very worn and fatigued. There is no more [to say] except that the Lord, whose we are, may do with us as with a thing of his own, Amen. Dated at

Date.

sesenta años la calidad o tenple de la trñra es q̃ Cada semana
lluebe o casi cada semana.

syerbo de .V.m.

Fray DOMINGO.

LA JENTE DE SU SEÑORIA.

la copia de la gente
q̃ ay Sana pã poder
yr

Gr^{mo} de birues
p^o de barrios
mezquita
Juan muñoz de çayas
felis ponçe
Juan de carabajal
Luis hernandez
Alonso Ruiz
p^o Romero
barrientos
p^o bermudez

El capitan sotelo
El capitan
Reynoso
Alonso de bega
Ju^o de porras
berdugo
gutierrez
aguilar
su ermano
marmolejo
Jil gonçalez

mestança

[113 a]

El capitan don Xpōbal
El capitan
Anton mñ
guirola
pero hernandez
muñoz
Xpōbal sanchez
caçeres
La del sargento
Xpoūbal nuñez
polito hernandez
La guardia
Resusta
Ximon R^{es}
lianez
sanchez
p^o de heçija
p^o de rribera
La conpañia de tellez
El capitan
el alferez
Julian tellez
quebas
mñ de bilbao
alonso goncalez
subieta
nuño carauallo

Juan gutierrez
La de g^o sanchez
fran^{co} R^{es}
hernan gomez
carrion
Vellido
grauiel lopez
Juan gñ
La del m^e de canpo

fran^{co} nauarro
Alonso mñ
gr^{mo} lopez
gñ de leon
felipe hernandez
Juan de bargas
beltran
La de aluaro nieto
El sargento
beloso
fran^{co} mñ
peñaranda
cobos
belasco
mexia
su contador q̃ Vino agora
Xpōbal nieto

Coosa, the end of July, 1560. The characteristic or climate of the country is that every week it rains, or nearly every week.

Your servant,

Fray DOMINGO.

THE PEOPLE OF HIS LORDSHIP

Guillermo de Birues	Captain Sotelo
Pedro de Barrios	The Captain
Mezquita	Reynoso
Juan Muñoz de Zayas	Alonso de Vega
Félix Ponce	Juan de Porras
Juan de Carbajal	Verdugo
Luis Hernández	Gutiérrez
Alonso Ruiz	Aguilar
Pedro Romero	His Brother
Barrientos	Marmolejo
Pedro Bermúdez	Gil González

List of the people
who are well
enough to go.

Mestanza

[113 r]

Captain Don Cristóbal	Juan Gutiérrez
The Captain	The Company of Gonzalo Sánchez:
Antón Martín	Francisco Rodríguez
Guirola	Hernán Gómez
Pedro Hernández	Carrión
Muñoz	Vellido
Cristóbal Sánchez	Gabriel López
Cáceres	Juan G[ue?]ra
The Sergeant's men:	The Company of the maestre de
Cristóbal Núñez	campo:
Hipólito Hernández	Francisco Navarro
La Guardia	Alonso Martín
Resusta	Guillermo López
Simón Rodríguez	G[ue?]ra de León
Lianez	Felipe Hernández
Sánchez	Juan de Vargas
Pedro de Ecija	Beltrán
Pedro de Rivera	The Company of Álvaro Nieto:
The Company of Téllez:	The Sergeant
The Captain	Belloso
The Ensign	Francisco Martín
Julián Téllez	Peñaranda
Cuevas	Cobos
Martín de Bilbao	Velasco
Alonso González	Mexía
Zubieta	The accountant, who just arrived
Nuño Caravallo	Cristóbal Nieto

[113 b]

La de xaramillo	miguel de canpo
fran ^{co} molina	La de porras
Azebedo	El capitan
domingo alonso	Juan quadrado
gr ^{mo} bazquez	El sargento
arçiniega	alvaro de la cruz
hernan R ^{es}	hernando de la cruz
Juan de auila	pantoja
fran ^{co} R ^{es}	magarino
rrõcha	machin
Anton sanchez	Juan Vizcaino
fran ^{co} luis	Ramirrez
La de don pedro	El licenciado ari ^{as}
El capitan	El thes ^o
ortiz	El contador
belasco	pero lopez de naba
basco hernandez	Julian de acuña
Ribera	dos tronpetas
Agurto	Diego de çamora

DON TRISTAN DE LUNA Y HARELLANO.

[NOTIFICACIÓN QUE SE APRESTEN]

notificales q̃ pueden
estos yr manda q̃ se
apresten

q̃ se lo de por
escripto

E hansi notificado lo suso dño a los dños capitanes que fue que a los soldados destas copi^{as} Aqui nonbrados los halla sanos y suficientes para la dña Jornada q̃ por esta causa los señala q̃ se an de aperçibir e hansi nonbrados yo el dño escribano doy fee que lo notifique A los dños cap.^{tan}es y of^{es} q̃ se aperçibiesen con la jente aqui nonbrada los q̃ales dixeron q̃ su señoria se lo [114 a] mande por escripto y q̃ Veran lo q̃ su señoria manda

Paso Ante mi

JUAN DE BARGAS

escribano mñor.

manda q̃ se aperçi-
ban de ay al lunes

¶ E luego en este dño dia el dño señor gouernador dixo q̃ no tiene mas q̃ señalar de los q̃stan nonbrados los q̃ales se an nonbrado por las memorias de las Raçiones q̃ se les dan A los nonbrados y senalados son hombres y muy buenos soldados Pã la dña Jornada En quien su señoria confia q̃ serbiran A su ma^g bien y lealmente en la dña Jornada los q̃ales los manda aperçibir para de aqui al lunes en todo el dia para partirse y firmolo

DON TRISTAN DE LUNA Y HARELLANO.

[113 v]

Xaramillo's Company:

Francisco Molina

Acevedo

Domingo Alonso

Guillermo Vázquez

Arciniega

Hernán Rodríguez

Juan de Ávila

Francisco Rodríguez

Rocha

Antón Sánchez

Francisco Luis

The Company of Don Pedro:

The Captain

Ortiz

Velasco

Vasco Hernández

Rivera

Agurto

Miguel de Campo

The Company of Porras:

The Captain

Juan Quadrado

The Sergeant

Álvaro de la Cruz

Hernando de la Cruz

Pantoja

Magarino

Machín

Juan Vizcaíno

Ramírez

The Licentiate Arias

The Treasurer

The Accountant

Pedro López de Nava

Julián de Acuña

Two trumpeters

Diego de Zamora

DON TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

[THE NOTICE TO GET READY]

The foregoing having been communicated to the said captains, to the effect that the soldiers of the companies here named are found sound and fit for the expedition, therefore he informs them that they are to get ready. I, the notary, swear that after these men had been named, I notified the said captains and officials to equip themselves and the men here named. They replied that his Lordship should give them the [114 r] order in writing and they would see what his Lordship would command.

Notification that these are able to go; he orders them to get ready.

They demand the order in writing.

Done before me.

JUAN DE VARGAS,

Chief notary.

Immediately on this same day the governor said that he had only to choose from those who are named, they having been so named from the accounts of the rations which are given them. Those who have been named and chosen are men and very good soldiers for the proposed expedition; his Lordship is confident they will serve his Majesty well and loyally in the expedition, and commands them to prepare themselves to be ready to leave here at any time on Monday; and he signed it,

He orders them to be ready [to leave] there on Monday.

DON TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

[LA CONTESTACIÓN]

not^{na} a los capitane
y dixer q rresponderan

V E luego yo el dho Escribano lei e notifique lo proueydo y mandado por el dho señor gouernador A los capitanes y ofs d. Su mag^t los q^{ales} dixeran que ellos Responderan oy En todo el dia lo que cunpliere al serui^o de su mag^t t^{os} Juan d. Cisneros y rreynoso

paso Ante mi

JUAN DE BARGAS

esno mñor.

[LA CONTESTACIÓN DE LOS OFICIALES REALES]

responden q se
sobresease hasta q se
vea si conuiene

V E despues de lo suso dho el dho dia mes y año suso dho Respondieron los of^{es} de su mag^t y dixeran que ayer veinte y ocho del presente les mando el señor gouernador Juntar Pã ber y determinar si conbendria yr la trñra adentro/o no Juntamente con el m^e de campo y capitanes y que ellos sobre este caso tienen dado su pareçer y hansi tienen entendido le an dado el m^e de campo y capitanes y sin hauerles mandado Juntar segunda Vez ni auer Visto los pareçeres nos notifico el escribano nos Aparejasemos para yr la trñra Adentro con el señor gouernador [114 b] que asta q se bea sy conuiene entrar o no y las Razones q^l señor gouernador da por do se deua entrar y se determine lo que mas conbenga pedimos se sobresease la tal determinaçion o apercibimi^o del señor gouernador e si necesario es lo rrequerimos y esto es lo q^l dixeran y dauan por su rrespuesta y lo firmaron de sus nonbres.

ALONSO BELAZQUEZ R^{es}

y

HALONSO PEREZ.

[LA REPETICIÓN DEL ORDEN]

q todavia se
apresten

V e Vista la rrespuesta que los dños of^{es} de su mag^t dauan por el señor gouernador dixo q mandaua e mando q se aperçiban para entrar la trñra Adentro con su S^a el lunes en todo el dia e no lo haziendo les condenaba en los pueblos e yndios q^l tienen En encomi^a En la nu^a españa para la camara e fisco de su mag^t lo contrario haziendo e firmolo de su nonbre el señor gouernador

Don TRISTAN DE LUNA Y HARELLANO

paso ante mi

Ju^o DE BARGAS

esno mñor.

[THE REPLY]

Immediately I, the said notary, read and gave notice of that which the governor ordered to the captains and officials of his Majesty. They said that they would reply during the day in a manner befitting his Majesty's service. Witnesses, Juan de Cisneros and Reynoso.

Notification to the captains who say that they will reply.

Done before me,

JUAN DE VARGAS,

Chief notary.

[REPLY OF THE TREASURY OFFICIALS]

After the foregoing on the same day, month, and year, the officials of his Majesty replied saying that yesterday, the twenty-eighth instant, the governor asked them to meet together with the *maestre de campo* and the captains, to consider and determine whether it would be wise to go inland or not; that they had given their opinions in the case, and so had the *maestre de campo* and the captains, it was understood. [But now] without his having ordered them to meet a second time, or having examined the opinions, the notary notified us to prepare ourselves to go inland with the governor. [114 v] [Therefore], until it is seen whether it is proper to go inland or not, and until the reasons which the governor gives for considering it necessary [are given], and what is most fitting is decided, we ask that the aforesaid decision or order of the governor be deferred. And if it be necessary this is what we demand. This is what they said and gave as their reply, and signed with their names.

They reply that the preparations should be postponed until it is learned if it is opportune.

ALONSO VELÁZQUEZ RODRÍGUEZ
and

ALONSO PÉREZ.

[REPETITION OF THE ORDER]

The reply which the officials of his Majesty gave having been seen by the governor, he said that he was commanding and did command them to be ready to go inland with his Lordship at any time on Monday; and if they did not do so he would proceed against the towns and Indians which they have in *encomienda* in New Spain, to have them forfeited for exchequer of his Majesty. And the governor signed it with his name,

He still orders them to get ready

DON TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

Done before me,

JUAN DE VARGAS,

Chief notary.

[APELACIÓN DE LOS OFICIALES REALES]

Suplican p̃a ante el mismo

V E despues de lo suso dño en este dño dia mes y haño suso dño yo el dño esno lei e notifique lo p^obeido e mandado por el dño señor gouernador a los of^{es} de la R^{al} hazienda en sus person^{as} los q̃ales rrespondieron diziendo q̃ suplicauan e suplicaron del dño auto para ante la misma persona del señor gouernador y le pedian de mulo [*sic*: nulo] y suplicaban tornase a uer los pareceres q̃l m^e de campo y of^{es} y cap^{tan}es le tienen dado y sobre ellos su S^a tornase hazer Junta P̃ã q̃ se bea e determine lo que en este caso m^{as} cunpla y si necesario es con el acatami^o debido se lo Requerian las Vezes q̃ de der^o a lugar y me lo pidieron por testimi^o y lo firmaron de sus nonbres

AL^o VELAZQUEZ R^{es}.AL^o PEREZ.

paso Ante mi

JU^o DE BARGAS

escribano mñor.

[REITERACIÓN DEL ORDEN]

q̃ sin embargo se cunpla lo m^{do}

[115 a] V En este dño dia mes y año suso dño yo el dño escribano mostre Al señor gouernador la rrespuesta de segunda suplicación para hante su persona echa por los of^{es} de su ma^g. el q̃al dixo q̃l tiene bista y rrebista los pareçeres del m^e. de campo y of^{es} del Rey de los capitanes y xente del campo y que no tiene mas q̃ Ver y determinar syno q̃ sin embargo de lo dño y halegado se aparejen para hazer la dña Jornada donde no les condenaua y condeno de nuebo En las penas q̃ los tiene Condenados y puestas

Don TRISTAN DE LUNA Y HARELLANO.

paso Ante mi

JUAN DE UARGAS

Escribano mñor.

FIN DEL PRIMER TOMO

[THE APPEAL OF THE TREASURY OFFICIALS]

After the foregoing on this same day, month, and year aforesaid, I, the said notary, read and communicated the provision and order of the governor to the officials of the royal treasury in person. They replied that they were appealing and did appeal from this auto before the governor himself, asking that it be annulled. They also prayed him to examine once more the opinions which the *maestre de campo*, the officials, and captains had already given him, asking that he would call a second meeting in order that what was most feasible in this case might be examined and decided. If necessary, with all due respect they demanded this of him as many times as in law required; and they asked me for a certified statement thereof, which they signed with their names.

They ask to appear before him.

ALONSO VELÁZQUEZ RODRIGUEZ.

ALONSO PÉREZ.

Done before me,

JUAN DE VARGAS,

Chief notary.

[REITERATION OF THE ORDER]

[115 r] On this same day, month, and year aforesaid, I, the said notary, showed the governor the reply of second appeal made in his presence by the officials of his Majesty. He said that he had viewed and reviewed the opinions of the *maestre de campo*, the officials of the king, the captains, and the people of the camp, but that he has nothing else to consider or decide save that notwithstanding all that had been said and alleged they should prepare themselves to make the proposed expedition, whereas if they did not, he was condemning and did condemn them anew to the penalties to which he had already condemned them and imposed upon them.

That nevertheless they should obey what was ordered.

DON TRISTÁN DE LUNA Y ARELLANO.

Done before me,

JUAN DE VARGAS,

Chief notary.

END OF VOLUME I

NOTES TO THE DOCUMENTS
OF VOLUME I

NOTES

1, p. 3. This Petition is No. 1134 in J. A. Robertson, *List of Documents in Spanish Archives relating to the History of the United States, which have been printed or of which Transcripts are Preserved in American Libraries* (Washington, 1910).

2, p. 3. An *auto* is a plea or proceeding in a lawsuit. The term is frequently used to mean a legally drawn instrument of any kind; it has seemed better to use the Spanish term than to attempt to supply English words or phrases which do not have exact applications.

3, p. 3. The *relator* was an attorney, employed by the court; it was his duty to draw up the briefs of causes to be tried, and to read them to the court after they had been examined and approved by both parties to a suit.

4, p. 3. *Maestre de campo*. The *Enciclopedia universal ilustrada europeo-americano*, XXXII. 12-14, at the word *maestre de campo*, says in part: "Almirante in his *Diccionario militar* says that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries this title was given to the superior and natural chief of the organic and tactical unit called the *tercio*, and it may be assimilated, though not exactly, to the colonelcy of regiment of the eighteenth century which at the beginning of the latter was substituted for it.

"Count Clonard in his *Historia orgánica* writes: 'When the title was created in the militia the dignity was given consideration hitherto reserved exclusively to that of captaincies general. It had almost all the power and apparatus of the prefecture of the Roman legions . . . to which was aggregated the attributes of the ancient *mariscales de Castilla*.'"

The *Enciclopedia* gives an *Ordenanza* of 1536 by Charles V. as the first important document in which the title appears. In this ordinance Charles created four such positions for his Italian army.

In the seventeenth century the *maestres de campo* in the *tercios* of Lombardy, Milan, Naples, Sicily, etc., had cognizance of all causes in first instance.

"Scarion, in his *Doctrina militar* writes 'After the captain-general of an army is the *maese de campo general*, which is a supreme position higher than all the others, for he is *maese general* of all the army, and there are in military art few or no things which do not come within the scope of his functions. So great is his authority that he is the second person in command. . . . He should have his own *tercio* and special company. He is entitled to the designation of *señoría*, may enter the council of war, and has, after the general, the first vote. The captain-general must advise him of everything that happens, and honor him by keeping him fully in mind, for next to his own, the *maestre* has the most prominent position in war.'"

A study of "The Luna Papers" shows that Cerón's powers were much like those mentioned in the passages quoted above. In addition he evidently had a commission as *justicia mayor* or chief justice. This function was often exercised by the commander of an expedition, as for example Hernán Cortés. Interesting light is thrown on Cerón's conception of his powers by the documents in the Luna suit issued by himself, and by the declarations of Luna and the lesser officers.

That the office was in use earlier than 1536 is shown by the fact that Cortés appointed Cristóbal de Olid his *maestre de campo* in May, 1519, at the time he threw off allegiance to Diego Velázquez. There is nothing to indicate, however, that Olid enjoyed such plenary powers as were evidently possessed by Cerón. (Cf. H. H. Bancroft, *History of Mexico*, citing Herrera, Dec. II., lib. v., cap. vii., Torquemada I. 587, and Bernal Díaz, p. 29.)

Concerning Jorge Cerón the following information is of interest:

"Captain Mateo was married to a granddaughter of Jorge Cerón, which was one of his chief claims to notice, and this petition includes the *Servicios de Jorge Cerón*.

"[Translation:] 'By an official *información* before the Audiencia of Mexico in 1562 it is on record that the said Jorge Cerón went to New Spain with Fernando Cortés, marqués del Valle, with his weapons and a horse, well equipped like a man of quality. The marqués having made a fleet to explore the South Sea in which he went in person, [he] took along the said Jorge Cerón for *maestre de campo*, and they went to an island which they called California, where they passed through great trials, as many died of hunger. The marqués sent Jorge Cerón for supplies in a ship which went ashore, but Cerón escaped and went to New Spain. Afterward Ángel de Villafañe with two ships with supplies, having been appointed to go to the aid of the marqués, fell sick in Acapulco and Jorge Cerón went there from where he was, took the two ships, and carried the aid to the marqués.

"'Afterward in another expedition gotten up by Luis de Velasco, viceroy of New Spain, for Florida, Jorge Cerón was named *maestre de campo*, and in this he served well till, being old and worn out, he was given a license to go to his home and rest'

"He adds that Cerón was a brother of Alonso de Saavedra, the one whom Cortés sent to the Moluccas.

"I was unable to find in the Archives in Seville any trace of this *relación* of Cerón of 1562. It does not appear that a copy was ever sent to Spain. There is in the Archives, however, some account of Cerón's experience in Florida, but unfortunately it could not be located." (H. R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794, an Annotated Bibliography* (Berkeley, 1924), pp. 97-99, No. 17, the Petition of Captain Mateo de Villerías. There is a copy in A. de I., 137-1-19; and an imprint of seven unnumbered folios, Madrid, 1613). See below, note 40.

5, p. 5. The Coronado Expedition.

6, p. 5. "His Majesty's officials" were the *oficiales reales* or treasury officers. The law required these direct representatives of the king's interest in conquest to accompany every expedition. On this occasion two were sent to La Florida, Alonso Pérez and Alonso Velázquez Rodríguez. Luis Daza, who commanded ships whereby communications with Luna were maintained, is spoken of as the *factor*, the name of the office habitually held by the third treasury official. It is not stated, but it may be assumed, that Daza was the third treasury officer for this expedition. There were usually three. The "royal officials" are not to be confused with military or other civil officers of administration. The treasury officials enjoyed a certain amount of preëminence, and independence of the officer in command, by virtue of their representation of the state treasury. See "The Luna Papers," this volume, pp. 18-20.

7, p. 11. The *audiencia* of Mexico is meant by all the references in these documents, save when in one case that of Guatemala is mentioned. That of Mexico was created in 1527, and began to function in 1528. It was reorganized in 1530, and from that date was called the second *audiencia*. It sat with the viceroy in advisory administrative capacity, and exercised the supreme jurisdiction in judicial matters, with appeal lying to the Council of the Indies in important ones. After the incidents of the Luna expedition it petitioned for responsible authority to check Velasco in his administrative acts, and after 1562 his administrative functions depended upon its recommendations. Its membership in 1559 is indicated on p. 32 of this volume, and by the signatures in II. 208, of these documents. For added details see H. I. Priestley, *José de Gálvez* (Berke-

ley, 1916), pp. 60-64, and C. W. Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico* . . . (Washington, 1923), I. 22, note 32.

8, p. 13. Father Barandalla was the clerical, that is, member of the secular arm of the church, who accompanied the Dominican friars as spiritual adviser to the army on this expedition. See pp. 111, 127 of this volume, for characterizations of him by Velasco.

9, p. 13. The *oidor* was a judge of the audiencia or supreme court. At the time of the Luna expedition all members of the audiencia were called *oidores*. When the audiencia was enlarged they came to have jurisdiction in civil cases, and criminal suits were tried by other judges, of the criminal chamber, who were known as *alcaldes del crimen*. The functions of these officers are described in Priestley, *José de Gálvez*, pp. 60-64; consult also the index to that book.

10, p. 15. Concerning the courtesy and respect which Luis de Velasco showed toward Luna, it was said in 1595 that the second Velasco used far less deference in his written communications to Juan de Oñate, ". . . always addressing him as 'you' in such letters as he wrote to him, very differently from what the viceroy Don Luis de Velasco, father of this viceroy Don Luis, did with Don Tristán de Arellano when he went to Florida, for he accompanied him from Mexico as far as the city of Tlaxcala, twenty leagues away, where, with the applause of all the soldiers, he took leave of him, calling him 'your Lordship,' whereby he dignified him as a personage and gave strength to the people and expedition." (C. W. Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico* . . . I. 271.)

11, p. 15. "The secretary Antonio de Turcios says: that he is a native of Salinas de Havana, son of Pedro de Turcios and Doña Maria Martínez de Aramayona, *hijosdalgo*; since they were of that category he had one brother who was *alcalde* of the *hijosdalgo* of Valladolid. He came to this New Spain twenty years ago and has served in everything that has offered, especially in this royal audiencia and in affairs of government. He is married and has two daughters and one son. He sustains the honor of his person and house as does any person of quality. He begs that in the allotment all favor be shown him. He has five children." (F. A. de Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España* (Madrid, 1923), II. No. 533.) The petitions reproduced by Icaza were addressed to the viceroy Mendoza upon the attempted introduction of the "New Laws," and a subsequent reallocation of Indians.

12, p. 19. These instructions, pp. 18-33, are interesting as evidently being one forerunner of the Ordenanza de Pobladores, promulgated in 1563 for colonial settlements (*Colección de documentos inéditos de . . . Indias*, VIII. 484-537). These Ordenanzas were published in part by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall in *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, November, 1921, pp. 743-749, with translations in *ibid.*, pp. 749-753, and May, 1922 (corrected), pp. 249-254, from a version almost identical with that noted above but dated San Lorenzo, July 3, 1573.

The progress of the conquest under Luna never reached the point where the military organization was superseded by the civil. There is no mention of appointment of civil officials for the town of Nanipacana, or that of Ochuse [Polonza].

13, p. 25. The *peso de oro*, says *Cartas de Indias*, p. 659 (in a note to p. 32) ". . . was worth 500 *maravedís* of that time, equivalent to some 61 *reales* and 14 *maravedís* of the present [1877]; but it must be borne in mind that at that time it represented a value so exorbitant that some raise it to more than 200 *reales* of our money." The *peso de oro de minas* is ascribed a value of 450 *maravedís* by the *Diccionario universal*, V. 910, whereas to the *peso de oro* (identical with the *castellano*) is ascribed a value of 500 *maravedís* (*Cartas de Indias*, p. 660). Current dictionaries give the old Spanish *maravedí* a value of about one-

sixth of a cent or one-third of a farthing. Luis González Obregón, *México viejo*, p. 33, says: "The peso de oro, if it was *común*, was equivalent to one *peso*, [1900] and seventy-five *centavos* [eighty-seven and one-half cents United States money]; if it was a *peso de minas* or *peso ensayado*, it was equivalent to one *peso* and five *reales* [seventy cents United States]; and if it was a *peso de tepuzque* it was worth one *peso* four *reales* nine *granos*. There was another *peso de oro* which was equivalent to two *pesos* [1900] seven *reales* and six *granos*.

In, "The Luna Papers," II. 99, the terms *peso* and *peso de minas* are used without apparent discrimination. Those who desire to acquire facility in making change in these antique moneys may be helped by consulting Alberto Bremauntz, *Tablas que expresan los valores entre las unidades del sistema antigua y las del nuevo sistema métrico* (Mexico, 1896). An interesting and instructive article on moneys of Mexico is found in the *Diccionario universal de historia y geografía*, V. 907-938, "Moneda en México."

14, p. 29. That is, the schedule of charges was to be lawfully three times higher than that established for Spain—an official recognition of the difference in costs between the two parts of the empire.

15, p. 33. *Corregidores* were heads administrative and judicial of small areas; usually subordinate to governors, sometimes equal to them but generally of the same rank as *alcaldes mayores*. They were supposed to represent more effectively than the latter the direct power of the king.

16, p. 33. The *residencia* was the normal judicial investigation of the official acts during incumbency of a colonial officer who had completed his term. Officers of the rank of *alcalde mayor* and higher were subject to it. The investigation was often conducted by the successor to the post. Its process was secret; all persons who considered themselves aggrieved had opportunity to make deposition against the retiring officer during a period of days. The findings were ultimately reviewed by the Council of the Indies in important cases. (See H. I. Priestley, *José de Gálvez*, p. 166, and index.)

17, p. 35. This Oath and Covenant is No. 1123 in Robertson, *List of Documents in Spanish Archives*.

18, p. 43. This document is No. 1127 in Robertson, *List of Documents in Spanish Archives*.

19, p. 49. The Río del Espíritu Santo, mentioned twelve times in these documents, and in all but one of these by Velasco, is clearly the Mississippi. See pp. 49, 65, 73, 85, 95, 101 (twice), 103, 115, 127, and in Vol. II, pp. 155 and 273. On p. 49, in the New Spain transcript of the cédula of Philip II, dated at Mexico, March 30, 1559, and signed by Velasco, the western boundary of Luna's government is set fifty leagues west of the Río Grande del Espíritu Santo, "which is in 29° latitude." Although the latitude is inexact, it is evident that the Mississippi is meant here as well as elsewhere in the documents. There would be no room for doubt at all in this instance were it not for the fact that the bay of Tocabago or Tampa was also known as the Bahía del Espíritu Santo (cf. Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements*, I. App. G, 445). Against the assumption that this body of water could have been intended as the point from which the fifty leagues to the western line of Luna's government were to be measured are the foregoing occurrences of the name, the evident meaning of Velasco and the plan to make the limit of the new conquest march with the expected conquests of the intervening spaces.

20, p. 53. The *encomienda* was the grant to a conqueror by the viceroy or audiencia (confirmed by the king) of a specified number of Indians in a town for labor on a specified grant of contiguous land, the grant being made as a reward or compensation for services. The Indians paid tribute to the grantee,

and rendered services to him as required. The grant was first for one life, later confirmed for two or more lives, that is, successive generations of heirs of the original grantee. For ample and available documentation on this subject consult the index of Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico*, I.

21, p. 57. The words "un subcescor" of the original are a conjectural reading.

22, p. 57. This letter is No. 1129 in Robertson, *List of Documents in Spanish Archives*.

23, p. 57. "Luis Daza says that he is a native of the *villa* of Valladolid, legitimate son of Alvaro Daza and Leonor Osorio; that he went to La Florida with the adelantado Soto, where he wandered about and passed through many trials. About two years ago he married a sister of Diego Valadés, one of the first conquerors of this New Spain; he has a daughter and the intention to remain in this country." (Francisco A. de Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, II. No. 589.)

24, p. 59. The *alcalde mayor* was the administrative and judicial officer over a local unit of government comprising a number of small towns aggregated to a larger one to which they were attached by economic or other interests. The *alcalde mayor* performed duties practically identical with those of the *corregidor* (see above, note 15).

25, p. 63. Juan Xaramillo (the elder) was born in Villanueva de Valcarrota, Spain. He came to New Spain with Cortés, and served in the conquest of Río de Grijalva, Oaxaca, Pánuco, and Honduras. He received in encomienda the town of Xilotepeque (Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, I. No. 3). Cf. Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico*, I. 31. It was "El Mozo" who went to Cíbola.

Juan Xaramillo (*el Mozo*) "Is the son of Gómez Méndez and Ana de Tovar his wife; a native of Villanueva de Valcarrota. He served his Majesty in Italy and in the capture of Tunis and of Asaes. Ten years ago he came to these parts, and has served in whatever has happened, especially in the Cíbola campaign, upon which he spent over three thousand pesos. He is married to Doña Ana de Andrade, and two uncles of his served in the conquest of this city and country until they died. Diego Xaramillo, his uncle, discovered the first mines of Zumpango, from which so much gain has come to his Majesty. He suffers want, and beseeches that he be given a grant in the allotment, in consideration of the fact that his uncle left no legitimate son, and held the town of Zumpango in encomienda." (Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, II. No. 867.)

26, p. 65. The valley of Ogitipa (often spelled Oxitipa in other documents) has disappeared under that denomination from the modern maps. It was discovered by Juan de Busto. It was evidently not far from Pánuco. See below, note 29.

27, p. 65. Antonio de Luna had been in New Spain thirteen years when Mendoza was being petitioned concerning the New Laws. He served in South America, at Santa Marta and Cartagena. He married the widow of a rich encomendero, and she lost the property. He made no claim to relationship with Don Tristán. (Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, II. No. 647.)

28, p. 65. The abbreviation *plas* in this transcript is unidentifiable by the editor. It may stand for *platas*, and refer to some phase of the mining industry, or to the collection or transportation of silver; or it may refer to *plazas*, military enlistments; or it may be intended for *perlas*, referring to the pearl fisheries.

29, p. 65. Juan de Busto, "a resident of Pánuco, says: that he is a resident of this city, a native of the *villa* of Medellín, and legitimate son of Pedro de Busto

and Doña Catalina de Mendoza. His father was the first count of Medellín, and his mother a native of Mérida. He came to this New Spain twenty-four years ago, and took part in the conquests of Pánuco, Tamahol (Tamaulipas), Atantua, Atancoxual, and all the other side of the Río de Pánuco. He discovered the valleys of Oxitipa, and helped to conquer them, as well as the Yopelcingos, and Mestitán and other towns which he names, all at his own expense. He is one of the first settlers of this city, and has always had his house in it, occupying it with his arms and horses and family. He went to the island with the Marqués, where he spent more than three thousand pesos. He held in encomienda Tanchinamol and Cuimatlán, which were taken from him by past governors. At present he has Tescuco in Pánuco, which yields him a yearly revenue of not more than thirty or forty pesos and some years nothing at all; wherefore he is poor and suffers necessity, for he continuously maintains persons of quality in his house. He is married to a daughter of Francisco Rodríguez Magariño, a conqueror of this New Spain, and he has presented proof of everything." (Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, I. No. 371.)

30, p. 65. Lope de Arellano married a daughter of Juan Millán. (Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, II. 24, and No. 555.)

31, p. 67. Fray Domingo de Soto (1494-1560) was author of a work in Latin, the most recent version of which is a Spanish translation by Jaime Torrubiano Ripoli, *Tratado de la justicia y el derecho* (Madrid, 1922). This treatise would have afforded scant guidance of practical character for Luna, and it is probable that Velasco had reference to the summary, compiled by Soto, of the dispute which took place in Valladolid in 1550 between Bartolomé de las Casas and Dr. Sepúlveda concerning the good treatment of the Indians. It is listed as a Las Casas item. It was published in Italian under the title *Conquista dell'Indie Occidentali de Monsignor Fra Bartolomeo dalle Case . . .* (Venice, 1644). In this, the name of Fray Domingo occurs first on p. 30. The Spanish Seville edition of 1552 was probably the one of which Velasco spoke; it is entitled *Disputa o controversia con el Dr. Ginés de Sepúlveda sobre las conquistas de las Indias*.

32, p. 69. The *repartimiento*, or allotment, was the original distribution of the Indians to the conquerors. It is often used as practically synonymous with *encomienda*, but refers to the act of allotment, while the latter refers to the condition of the Indians.

33, p. 69. Jorge Cerón Saavedra, the *maestre de campo*, is meant. Jorge Cerón Carbajal was another early conqueror, but it does not seem that he was present on the Luna expedition, though the name appears as one of the list of company officers in "The Luna Papers," II. p. 14.

34, p. 73. "Bernaldo Peloso says: that he is a resident of Pánuco, native of Genoa, and legitimate son of Juan Peloso and Catalina Xancardo. He came to these parts fifteen years ago, and served in the conquest of Cartagena with Governor Heredia. From there he went with the Adelantado Soto to La Florida, and was there five years, and it was due to his industry that all the people did not perish. He was married in Pánuco to the widow of Lucas Ginovés, a conqueror. She has two legitimate sons by her first husband, to the elder of whom have been given the Indians whom his father left. For this reason [Peloso] and his wife and children suffer necessity." (Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, II. No. 905.)

35, p. 77. The *fanega* was about one hundred-weight of grain or seed. The term is also applied to the area of ground which could be properly sown with that amount of grain.

36, p. 77. "Don Luis de Castilla says: that he is a native of Valladolid and son of Don Pedro de Castilla and Doña Francisca Osorio. In Spain he served

his Majesty in the [war against the] *comunidades* and in the wars of Navarre and Fuenterrabía. He came to this New Spain in the year 1530, and went to settle and conquer the province of Jalisco, where he spent much and has in encomienda the towns of Tututepec and Nopala, upon the tribute of which he is not able to maintain himself. He is married and has six children, three male and three female. Your illustrious lordship has always made him the grant of a *corregimiento*." (Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, II. No. 511.) Icaza says, *idem.*, I. xxiv, that he was "fourth grandson of the king Don Pedro I. and of Doña Juana de Castro," conqueror of Nueva Galicia and "rather unfortunate indeed in his differences with Nuño de Guzmán." *El Liceo Mexicano*, I. 215, says he was *alférez real* in the ceremony of acknowledgment of the accession of Philip II. He was a town councilman of Mexico City.

37, p. 77. For the activities of the Ibarra family in New Spain, see Hackett, *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico*, I., or the numerous Spanish histories which tell of the northern conquests.

38, p. 77. Apparently Don Carlos, the son of Luna, is meant. The viceroy's son was named Luis.

39, p. 79. This last paragraph is in the viceroy's own hand.

40, p. 81. "Jorge Cerón says: that he is a resident of the city of Mexico and a native of that of Baeza, son of Martín Cerón and Marta Martínez de Altamirano, who were of noble lineage. He came to this New Spain to serve his Majesty in the year 1530, and for seventeen years has served him in everything that has offered during that time, especially in the discovery which the Marqués del Valle went to make in the South Sea, in which he served as captain. When they reached the land, he served as *maestre de campo*, and as such in the expeditions and discoveries he suffered necessity for a period of ten years, spending on arms, horses, and necessary things more than two thousand pesos. He returned to New Spain to accelerate the collection of supplies, and returned with them as captain by command of your most illustrious lordship, spending in this matter more than fifteen hundred pesos. He went to Spain for his wife and family, the better to perpetuate himself in these parts. He has brought her, and other relatives, to serve his Majesty. To these parts came Álvaro de Saavedra, his brother, in the year 1522; he served his Majesty in everything that offered, especially in the pacification of Pánuco and Michoacan and other parts with his arms and horses. This same brother went as captain of three ships which the Marqués sent on discoveries of the Spice Islands in the South Sea and in search of the Comendador Loaysa. [Jorge] was more than six thousand pesos in debt, and [Álvaro] paid them for him, returning laden with spices to give an account of how he had found the said Comendador. [Álvaro] died at sea, and the towns which he held, which were given to him as remuneration, were taken away because of his end and death. [Jorge] supplicates that he be kept in memory in this allotment." (Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, II. No. 529.)

41, p. 83. Conjectural reading. The viceroy's hand is very difficult to decipher in places.

42, p. 87. March 7 was Sunday, as Dávila Padilla says that March 14 was Palm Sunday. Thus Luna's excommunication lasted only one week (*Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lxx., p. 273 ff.).

43, p. 93. This letter is No. 1131 in Robertson, *List of Documents in Spanish Archives*.

44, p. 95. An Alonso Velázquez, a native of Portillo and son of Hernán Velázquez and Ana Núñez, has a petition for an encomienda in Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, II. No. 517.

45, p. 95. Las Tortugas were no doubt the same shoals and keys which flank the Strait of Florida, the most western of them now being known as Dry Tortugas.

46, p. 97. Concerning Upiachi or Piache, see Introduction, note 58.

47, p. 101. This was doubtless Vasco Porcallo de Figueroa, who was made captain-general under Soto in La Florida and afterward returned to Cuba. F. W. Hodge, ed., *Narrative of Cabeza de Vaca*, in *Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, pp. 145, 154.

48, p. 101. This Portuguese is an unidentified explorer. Luis de Carabajal, a Portuguese, explored and colonized in Nuevo León, but not until some twenty years later than the date of this letter. Members of this family were in New Spain from the days of Cortés.

49, p. 105. The request for help from Spain made here by Luna, suggests that the idea promoted and executed by Menéndez de Avilés may have had its inception in the mind of the viceroy as early as the first stages of Luna's attempt.

50, p. 107. The *tomín* was of the same value as the *real*, five cents.

51, p. 109. An *arroba* is approximately twenty-five pounds.

52, p. 111. Fray Gregorio de Beteta was on the coast of La Florida in the ill-fated Luis Cancer expedition, and wrote part of the account of the experiences of those missionaries, entitled *Relación de la Florida para el Ilmo Señor Visorrei de la Nueva España* . . . (B. Smith, *Colección de varios documentos* . . . , pp. 190-202.) See W. Lowery's discussion of the authorship, in *The Spanish Settlements*, I. Appendix V. See also Dávila Padilla, *Historia de la fundación*, Lib. I., cap. lvi., p. 85.

53, p. 115. The fact that this vessel is called "the French ship" throughout the documents suggests that it may have been named *El Francés*, but it is more probable that it was a capture, and never spoken of otherwise than as "the French ship," and so it has been rendered in the translation.

54, p. 115. It is quite probable that the captain of foot, Antonio Ortiz de Matienzo, was one of the four stepsons of Juan Ortiz de Matienzo, who "says that he is a resident of Pánuco and a native of Las Montañas, legitimate son of Diego de Bárcena and Doña Isabel de Matienzo. It must be some nineteen years ago that he came to this New Spain; he served his Majesty in the conquest of the valleys of Oxitipa, and went with the Marqués to the island, where he lost an eye. He held in encomienda the town of Xaltepec, which is at present held by Ángel de Villafañe. He is married and has in his care four children of his wife by her first husband. From her he obtained the Indians which he has at present; they are so poor that they do not provide a revenue of one hundred pesos de tepuzque. He has his house settled, and suffers necessity." (Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, I. No. 465.)

55, p. 123. "Doña Francisca de la Cueva says: that she was the wife of Francisco Flores, who was a native of Encinalosa, which is in Estremadura, and he was the son of Juan Flores; the former, she says, served his Majesty thirty-five years in these parts, eight of them in the islands, and the remainder in the conquest of this New Spain and in the provinces of Guatemala. She is the daughter of Pedro de San Martín and Doña Argenta, his legitimate wife, both natives of Ubeda. She has five children, one a male and the rest females; two of the latter are now of marriageable age, and for their maintenance she has scant resources, as she says, and this will appear from the lists of the Indians she holds in encomienda. She presents a transcript of the cedula she holds granting the encomienda of the said Indians." (Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, I. No. 206.)

56, p. 123. The marriage of Philip to his third wife, Elizabeth of Valois, eldest daughter of King Henry II. of France, was provided for by the settlement of

Château Cambresis, 1559. (R. Watson, *The History of the Reign of Philip II.*, I. 94; M. A. S. Hume, *Two English Queens and Philip*, pp. 195, 197, 226. See also P. Forbes, *Full View of Public Transactions in the Reign of Q. Elizabeth (1740-1741)*, I. 68-81, cited by F. G. Davenport, *European Treaties*, Washington, 1917, p. 219.)

57, p. 123. The order referred to appears in "The Luna Papers," Vol. II., pp. 17-19.

58, p. 123. Scotch aggression was anticipated by Philip probably because of the French-Scotch combination which usually worked against him. No other reference to Scotch attempts in America at this time have been encountered in this study. However, the Scotch knew at least a little about New Spain. Thomas Blake, a native Scotchman, went thither early in the 1530's, married an encomendero's widow, and went with Coronado to Cibola. (Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España*, II. No. 738; and G. R. G. Conway, *An Englishman and the Mexican Inquisition 1556-1560*, Mexico, 1927, pp. XXI, 11, 93 n.)

59, p. 125. The mariscal was Don Pedro de Luna, elder brother of Don Tristán and legal head of the family. The allusion is to the family possessions in Spain.

60, p. 127. From this point the original letter is in the viceroy's own hand.

61, p. 131. The "sons of la Laguna" are the people born about Mexico City, which stood on the edge of Lake Tezcuco; that is, the creole element in Mexican society.

62, p. 145. The signatures are partly illegible in the original.

63, p. 147. This opinion, rendered by Luna in answer to the numerous petitions arising from the unhappy condition of the camp at Nanipacana, indicates his first serious attempt to move his active forces to Coosa, is apparently his first rejection of the advice of his officers, and marks the real beginning of the troubles which caused his long lawsuit with them.

The clause *espera bela pa ello* may be translated "and he awaits a sail in order to do so," but that rendering would have no bearing upon the context.

64, p. 181. This letter is No. 1132 in Robertson, *List of Documents in Spanish Archives*.

65, p. 183. The transcriber, Miss Irene A. Wright, says that at this point in the original the word "mil," meaning "one thousand," has been scratched out, but that the sign for "one thousand" (the calderón, \mathfrak{D} , often expressed by "U" or "V") appears to be written in.

66, p. 185. "Co . . ." is not identifiable; probably Velasco referred to Copala. See this volume, Introduction, pp. xxviii-xxix. It could refer to Coahuila.

67, p. 185. The French were fairly familiar with this coast from the time of Jacques Cartier. See H. P. Biggar, ed., *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (Publications of the Public Archives of Canada, No. 11, Ottawa, 1924), pp. 297-298, and his interesting series of reproductions of early maps.

68, p. 191. The Port of Juan Ponce was possibly Tampa Bay. See the Ribero map and the so-called "Hernando Colón" map, not entirely faithfully reproduced, in J. G. Kohl, *Die beiden ältesten General-Karten von Amerika . . . 1527 und 1529 . . .* (Weimar, 1860). On the maps consult Woodbury Lowery, *A Descriptive List of Maps of the Spanish Possessions* (P. L. Phillips, ed., 1912), pp. 31-32, 40-42.

69, p. 191. The Bay of Juan de Paz, "at the end of the point of La Florida," does not show on either of the maps mentioned in the preceding note. Both bodies of water are shown on the west coast in the easily accessible reproduction of the Carta Universal, styled the "Hernando Colón map," in Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements*, I. 146, and in the contemporary map in Hodge and Lewis, *The Spanish Explorers in the Southern United States*, opposite p. 136. This

latter map is reproduced from Henri Harrisse, *The Discovery of North America* (Paris, 1892); and republished from the original in the present work, I., facing p. xix. In the Romans Map, Publications of the Florida State Historical Society, II, the Bay of Juan Ponce is shown near the lower end of the peninsula. What the viceroy meant in writing to Luna was that he desired him to explore the west coast of the peninsula southward from where he had first landed.

70, p. 195. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés. Valdés was a family name of this noted admiral and colonial pioneer.

71, p. 201. Talpa is a place name not encountered in any other description or narrative of this country.

72, p. 221. Talpa, Ynicula, and Atache are local names, used sometimes to refer to villages and at others to "provinces." They may be, in conformity with early practice among explorers meeting for the first time with savages, derived from names of chiefs. They do not appear in other early accounts of La Florida, nor on any of the available maps. Their general location, between Nanipacana and Coosa, is clear from the context; they were nearer to Nanipacana than to Coosa, and presumably along the river.

73, p. 225. Caxiti; see this volume, Introduction, p. xl, note 64.

74, p. 225. Onachiqui, the first town of Coosa, said here to be five or six leagues below Ulibaali, was estimated to be ninety or one hundred leagues northeast of Nanipacana; it was reached in ten days from Caxiti, and in fifty-seven from Nanipacana. It is not mentioned in the other early accounts of La Florida. See Introduction, p. xl.

75, p. 231. *Casyco* may be a corruption of *cab*, *cabecico*, a small measure of corn, or from *cabecica*, a little head, or ear, or from *hacecico*, a small sheaf, or ear.

76, p. 235. The second day of the Feast of the Resurrection probably means the second day after Easter, not the second day of Lent. In 1561 Palm Sunday fell on March 14, and Easter on March 21.

77, p. 239. The *rollo* was a stone column in the old Spanish town plaza and was set up as a symbol of the local jurisdiction—*Columna publica in foro*.

78, p. 243. Mateo del Sauz went to the Philippines with Miguel López de Legazpi in 1565 as *maestre de campo*. Upon the death of the latter, there was found a secret order of the *audiencia* of Mexico appointing Sauz provisional governor and captain general of the archipelago of the Philippines. Licentiate Valderrama, provisional governor of the viceroyalty of Mexico, wrote that he knew of this appointment, and was uneasy about it, as Sauz had proved a traitor in Peru. He had, however, been pardoned there by Viceroy Marquis de Cañete and had subsequently "gone to Florida where he had carried himself well in whatever had offered." Sauz had many friends and relatives among the followers of López de Legazpi, and might, were any change made in the succession, cause trouble. In case Sauz were unable to serve, Guido de Las Bazaes, who held the post of treasurer of the expedition, was to assume command. "And thus it seemed well for them to make an honest man out of a thief. The appointment of these two goes in secret, for neither the general nor any other person knows it." Sauz died of pernicious fevers in the frigate *San Andrés*, and accordingly, Las Bazaes became provisional governor, serving for three years. See Pablo Pastells, S. J., *Historia general de las Islas Filipinas* (Barcelona, 1626), II. ix-x, lxxxvii, lxxxviii.

LIST OF MEMBERS
OF
THE FLORIDA STATE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

HONORARY MEMBER

HIS MAJESTY KING ALFONSO XIII OF SPAIN

SUSTAINING MEMBERS

INSTITUTIONS

Albertson Public Library, The, Orlando, Florida.
American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.
Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.
Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, California.
Bartow Public Library, Bartow, Florida.
Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, France.
Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts.
British Museum, London, England.
Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island.
Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
Chicago Public Library, Chicago, Illinois.
Clements Library of American History, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio.
Columbia University Library, New York City.
Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut.
Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, New Hampshire.
Daytona Beach Public Library, Daytona Beach, Florida.
DeLand Public Library, DeLand, Florida.
Denison University Library, Granville, Ohio.
Department of Archives and History, State Capitol, Montgomery, Alabama.
Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan.
Duke University Library, Durham, North Carolina.
Flagler Memorial Library, Miami, Florida.
Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee, Florida.
Florida State Geological Survey, Tallahassee, Florida.
Florida State Historical Society, DeLand, Florida.

Florida State Museum, Gainesville, Florida.
Goodspeed's Book Shop, Boston, Massachusetts.
Goucher College Library, Baltimore, Maryland.
Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, New York.
Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Gabriel, California.
Howard Memorial Library, New Orleans, Louisiana.
Ibero-American Library, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
Jacksonville Public Library, Jacksonville, Florida.
John B. Stetson University Library, DeLand, Florida.
Lakeland Public Library, Lakeland, Florida.
Library, Daughters of American Revolution, Washington, D. C.
Library of Congress, Washington, D. C.
Library of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, Madison, Wisconsin.
Library, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.
Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, California.
Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.
Memorial Library, West Palm Beach, Florida.
Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.
Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, New York City.
New Smyrna Free Library, New Smyrna, Florida.
New York Historical Society, New York City.
New York Public Library, New York City.
New York State Library, Albany, New York.
Noah Farnham Morrison, The Ark, Elizabeth, New Jersey.
Norman, Remington Co., Baltimore, Maryland.
Northwestern University Library, Evanston, Illinois.
Ohio State University Library, Columbus, Ohio.
Onteora Library, Tannersville, New York.
Palatka Public Library, Palatka, Florida.
Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey.
Rollins College Library, Winter Park, Florida.
St. Augustine Historical Society and Institute of Science, St. Augustine, Florida.
St. Petersburg Public Library, St. Petersburg, Florida.
Seabreeze High School, Seabreeze, Florida.
Southern College, Lakeland, Florida.
Stanford University Library, Stanford, California.
State Library Board of the State of Florida, Tallahassee, Florida.
Syracuse University Library, Syracuse, New York.
Supreme Court of Florida Library, Tallahassee, Florida.
Tampa Public Library, Tampa, Florida.

LIST OF MEMBERS

269

Tulane University, Department of Middle American Research, New Orleans, Louisiana.
 University of California, Southern Branch, Library, Los Angeles, California.
 University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.
 University of Florida, General Extension Division, Gainesville, Florida.
 University of Florida Library, Gainesville, Florida.
 University of Illinois Library, Urbana, Illinois.
 University of Nebraska Library, Lincoln, Nebraska.
 University of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
 University of Texas Library, Austin, Texas.
 Vanderbilt University, Department of History, Nashville, Tennessee.
 Virginia State Library, Richmond, Virginia.
 Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, London, England.
 Western Reserve Historical Society, The, Cleveland, Ohio.
 Winter Haven Public Library, Winter Haven, Florida.
 Yale University Library, New Haven, Connecticut.

INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

[Unless otherwise stated, all addresses are in Florida.]

Adams, Miss Maude, New York City.	Brevard, Ephraim M., Tallahassee.
Allison, James A., Miami Beach.	Brorein, W. G., Tampa.
Altschul, Frank, New York City.	Brown, Mrs. B. E., DeLand.
*Anderson, Andrew, St. Augustine.	*Bryan, William Jennings, Miami.
Appleyard, T. J., Tallahassee.	Burt, Fred N., DeLeon Springs.
Aultman, Miss Elizabeth, Kissimmee.	Bussey, James R., St. Petersburg.
Averette, Mrs. Annie, St. Augustine.	Call, Rhydon M., Jacksonville.
*Ayer, Edward E., Chicago, Illinois.	Cannon, Henry W., Daytona Beach.
Ballard, Miss Agnes, West Palm Beach.	Carr, C. C., St. Petersburg.
Barrell, Edward P., DeLand.	Carson, James B., Miami.
Beaver, F. P., Dayton, Ohio.	Carter, W. R., Jacksonville.
Bentley, Frank, Tampa.	Chase, S. O., Sanford.
Bigler, Barton B., St. Augustine.	Claussen, John W., Miami.
Bond, Mrs. Elizabeth G., DeLand.	Coachman, W. F., Jacksonville.
Bond, Mrs. Louise F., DeLand.	Colburn, Burnham S., Biltmore, North Carolina.
	*Connor, Mrs. Jeannette Thurber, New York City.
	Connor, Washington E., New York City.

* Deceased.

- Connor, Wayne, New Smyrna.
 Conrad, Mrs. Carrie F., DeLand.
 Conrad, F. N., Daytona Beach.
 Conway, G. R. G., Mexico City, Mexico.
 Corbett, Walter F., Jacksonville.
 Cornwall, Matthew P., Daytona.
 Cubberly, Fred S., Gainesville.
 Cuesta, A. L., Tampa.
 Curtiss, G. H., Hi-a-le-ah.
 *Deering, Charles, Miami.
 *Deering, James, Miami.
 De Forest, Mrs. Anna M., Sanford.
 Detwiler, John Y., New Smyrna.
 *Dewhurst, W. W., St. Augustine.
 Doggett, J. L., Jacksonville.
 Douglas, Mrs. Marjory Stone-
 man, Miami.
 Drewry, Mrs. Clara G., Sea-
 breeze.
 Edwards, Scott R., Miami Beach.
 Elliott, William, Columbia, South
 Carolina.
 Farrior, J. Brown, Tampa.
 Fee, William I., Fort Pierce.
 Fisher, Carl G., Miami Beach.
 Fitzgerald, T. E., Daytona Beach.
 Fleming, F. P., Jacksonville.
 Fletcher, Duncan U., Washing-
 ton, D. C.
 Foster, Ward G., New York City.
 Fouts, John L., Lakeland.
 Futch, Jennis W., DeLand.
 Glen, James F., Tampa.
 Gold, P. D., Seabreeze.
 Gordis, W. S., DeLand.
 Griffin, J. A., Tampa.
 Harper, Lathrop C., New York
 City.
 Hart, Eldridge, Winter Park.
 Hawkes, Mrs. Sarah Lucas,
 Corning, New York.
 Hedouville, J. de, Miami.
 Henderson, Robert A., Jr., Fort
 Myers.
 Hulley, Lincoln, DeLand.
 Jameson, J. Franklin, Washing-
 ton, D. C.
 Jenkinson, Richard C., Newark,
 New Jersey.
 Jennings, Mrs. W. S., Jackson-
 ville.
 Jijón y Caamano, Jacinto, Quito,
 Ecuador.
 Jordan, Samuel D., DeLand.
 Kay, William E., Jacksonville.
 Ketterlinus, J. L., St. Augustine.
 Knappe, Carl H., Daytona.
 Knight, Peter O., Tampa.
 Knowles, William H., Pensacola.
 Lamar, G. B., St. Augustine.
 L'Engle, E. M., Jacksonville.
 L'Engle, E. J., Jacksonville.
 Leonardi, Mrs. John, Sanford.
 Lewis, Miss Mary D., Tallahas-
 see.
 Lindsay, David B., St. Peters-
 burg.
 Loftin, Scott M., Jacksonville.
 Loomis, John T., Washington,
 D. C.
 *Mabbette, Mrs. I. M., Daytona
 Beach.
 McCormick, Holland, Fort Myers.
 McCready, Stephen French,
 Ocala.
 Macfarlane, Howard F., Tampa.
 McKay, D. B., Tampa.
 MacWilliams, W. A., St. Au-
 gustine.
 Maggs, Ernest M., London, Eng-
 land.
 Malone, E. R., Pensacola.

* Deceased.

LIST OF MEMBERS

271

- Manning, Mrs. William Saunders, Jacksonville.
 Massey, Louis C., Orlando.
 Maxwell, E. C., Pensacola.
 O'Neal, W. R., Orlando.
 Ortiz, Fernando, Havana, Cuba.
 Osborne, F. R., DeLand.
 Ott, Mrs. Roy V., Ocala.
 Packard, Mrs. E. W., Winter Park.
 Pancoast, Thomas J., Miami Beach.
 Patterson, Giles J., Jacksonville.
 Pérez Beato, Manuel, Havana, Cuba.
 Perkins, J. W., DeLand.
 Reese, J. H., Miami.
 Reinhardt, Mrs. John, Owensboro, Kentucky.
 Reynolds, B. S., Washington, D. C.
 Reynolds, Charles B., New York City.
 Reynolds, E. H., St. Augustine.
 Rickmers, Mrs. Edna A., Miami.
 Rigby, George W., Ormond Beach.
 Riley, Bart A., Miami.
 Robins, Mrs. Raymond, Brooksville.
 Rollins, Carl Purington, New Haven, Connecticut.
 Romfh, E. C., Miami.
 Rosenbach, A. S. W., Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
 Salley, A. S., Jr., Columbia, South Carolina.
 Sanchez, Eugene M., Jacksonville.
 Saul, Maurice B., Moylan, Pennsylvania.
 Scarlett, Mrs. Joseph, Jr., DeLand.
 Seymour, Mrs. Robert Morris, Miami.
 Shackleford, T. M., Tampa.
 Sharkey, William L., Jacksonville.
 Shepard, Hall Edward, Bronxville, New York.
 Shutts, Frank B., Miami.
 Singletary, John B., Bradenton.
 Snively, John, Winter Haven.
 Stanley, Mrs. M. L., Daytona Beach.
 Stetson, John B., Jr., Elkins Park, Pennsylvania.
 Stokes, John P., Miami.
 Stone, Edward L., Roanoke, Virginia.
 Stovall, W. F., Tampa.
 Strawn, Mrs. Theodore, DeLand.
 Talcott, J. Frederick, New York City.
 Thurber, Mrs. Francis B., New York City.
 Tingley, Mrs. Helen Eloise, DeLand.
 Trice, W. W., Tampa.
 Wall, Perry G., Tampa.
 Watson, W. H., Pensacola.
 White, Mrs. John Barber, Kansas City, Missouri.
 Whitner, Mrs. J. N., Sanford.
 Whitner, Thomas C., Atlanta, Georgia.
 Wilder, Mrs. C. M., Daytona Beach.
 Wilkinson, E. S., Naples.
 Williams, Arthur T., Jacksonville.
 Wilmshurst, Henry J., DeLand.
 Winship, George Parker, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
 Wood, S. A., Washington, D. C.
 *Wright, Silas B., DeLand.
 Yarnell, Irwin, Lake Wales.
 Yonge, P. K., Pensacola.

* Deceased.



THREE HUNDRED AND SIXTY COPIES OF THIS BOOK
HAVE BEEN PRINTED BY THE YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS
AT THE PRINTING OFFICE OF E. L. HILDRETH & CO.
TYPOGRAPHY BY CARL PURINGTON ROLLINS.

This is No. 257



